

Making Ourselves Understood:
The Role of Previous Experience, Stereotypes, Communication Accommodation, and Anxiety in
Americans' Perceptions of Communication with Chinese Students

By

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Submitted to the graduate degree program in Communication Studies
and the Graduate Faculty of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Date approved: September 6, 2011

Abstract

This study examined American students' perceptions of communication with Chinese international students in two parts. First, studies were conducted to explore the stereotypes American students have about Chinese students. To begin, 100 American students from classes at a large midwestern university listed traits describing a typical Chinese student, generating a total of 31 unique descriptors. Next, 146 American participants from the same university reported the percentage of Chinese students they believed to possess each of the 31 traits and the favorability of those traits. Exploratory factor analysis revealed five primary stereotypes of Chinese students. Some reflect previous literature concerning stereotypes of Asians generally (e.g., smart/hardworking), whereas others are less common (e.g., nice/friendly). Secondly, and as primary focus of the project, 364 American students were presented, in an experimental design, with descriptions of a Chinese student who possessed traits consistent with one of the five stereotypes revealed in the first studies. Unexpectedly, there were relatively few differences in anxiety felt about and accommodations viewed as necessary when interacting with the described Chinese student. Similarly, participants reported comparable levels of willingness to interact with and social attractiveness of the Chinese student, regardless of how she was described in the experimental conditions. Intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact with Chinese culture were found to be significant predictors of many of the outcome variables. Upon further analyses, it appears as though decreases in uncertainty, brought about by familiar stereotypes (e.g., a Chinese student incompetent in English and not assimilated), or increases in uncertainty, brought about by less familiar stereotypes (e.g., a Chinese student who is oblivious, annoying, and loud), interact with the amount of anxiety felt about interacting with a described Chinese student to determine willingness to interact with as well as the social attractiveness of the student. The

significance of the findings and directions for future research are discussed in relation to prior literature on stereotyping, intercultural communication competence, intergroup contact, communication accommodation theory, anxiety/uncertainty management theory, and implicit personality theory.

Acknowledgements

This project would not have been possible without the guidance, support, and love I received from so many people in my life. I feel a great sense of gratitude for each of them and their contributions.

First and foremost, Dr. Yan Bing Zhang has been a gift to me throughout my career at the University of Kansas. Her wisdom proved valuable at each step, and she was always there to provide a word of encouragement or motivational push when I needed it most. She is someone I'm proud to call a role model, and I am immensely grateful for her role as teacher, advisor, and friend.

I'm equally grateful to my committee members, each with their own unique perspective, for their role in my education. Dr. Nancy Baym, Dr. Jeffrey Hall, Dr. Mary Lee Hummert, and Dr. Edward Canda, I have learned so much from each of you. I will take this knowledge with me well into the future. But most of all, you have each reinforced my love of learning and inspired me to continue toward improving my own ability to teach others. Thank you for your guidance and help during the formulation and completion of this project. It is, without a doubt, a stronger piece as a result.

To my family and friends, I want to say how very blessed I am to have you in my life. My parents have supported my love of learning from the beginning. Their love for me and pride in me has shown me that I can truly accomplish whatever I set out to do. I'm thankful to so many family members and friends that I cannot possibly list them all, but I must give a special thanks to my Grandpa Ruble, who has insisted on calling me "Dr. Ruble" since the day I began my doctoral program. Thank you for believing so strongly in me and helping me to believe it too.

I will never forget the times spent helping, encouraging, and commiserating with my cohort at KU, specifically Astrid, Cheongmi, Makiko, and Michelle. I could not have thought up myself a better group of friends than you. I'm truly grateful that we were able to experience this process together and I look forward to many more years of friendship and memories.

I acknowledge each person who took part in this project, from those who took time to participate or recruit participants, to those who were willing to listen to me as I talked through my ideas and my frustrations, to those who simply called checked up on me to make sure I was taking care of myself. This project is dedicated to you.

Thank you. Xie xie. Gracias. Arigato. Merci.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	v
Chapter One: Introduction.....	1
Chapter Two: Literature Review	
Stereotypes.....	7
Communication Concepts Influenced by Stereotypes.....	14
Preexisting Cultural Characteristics.....	24
Summary of Hypotheses and Research Questions.....	31
Chapter Three: Methods	
Study 1.....	32
Study 2.....	34
Study 3.....	39
Chapter Four: Results	
Hypothesis 1.....	45
Hypothesis 2.....	49
Research Question 2.....	50
Research Question 3.....	58
Summary of Results.....	61
Chapter Five: Discussion	
Chinese Stereotypes.....	63
Effect of Stereotype Conditions on Outcome Variables.....	68
Strengths of Current Study.....	76
Limitations and Directions for Future Research.....	78
References.....	83
Appendices	
Appendix A: Questionnaire for Study 1.....	98
Appendix B: Questionnaire for Study 2.....	99
Appendix C: Questionnaire for Study 3.....	104

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Communicating with another human being can be an enjoyable and even exhilarating experience, especially when that person comes from a culture different from our own. However, intercultural communication can also be a difficult and anxiety-ridden experience. Why is it that certain individuals or certain situations can lead to positive, rewarding outcomes in intercultural communication, and why is it that other individuals or situations can lead to negative outcomes, such as conflict, prejudice, and discrimination? This project sets out to answer a small portion of this puzzle.

Within intercultural communication research, there exists a long-held assumption that communicating with someone from a foreign culture is different from interacting with someone from one's own culture. However, studies that look at the actual ways in which intercultural communication differs from intracultural communication have been fairly limited (Chen, 2002). What does seem clear is that intercultural communication induces more uncertainty (Gudykunst, 1995) and anxiety (Stephan & Stephan, 1985) than intracultural communication, especially within initial interactions (e.g., Gudykunst & Nishida, 2001; Samochowiec & Florack, 2010). However, we also know that intercultural relationships develop every day, and they can lead to highly positive outcomes overall (e.g., Anderson, Lawton, Rexeisen, & Hubbard, 2006; Hammer, Bennett, & Wiseman, 2003).

For the majority of the world's population, intercultural communication is not a daily occurrence. However, as the peoples of the world become increasingly connected to one another economically, technologically, politically, and ecologically, opportunities for contact with people who come from differing cultural backgrounds abound (Abrams & Hogg, 2004). Nonetheless,

much of the time, we humans choose to interact with those most similar to us (Chen, 2002)

Research has shown that even when individuals are in situations that would provide them the opportunity to interact with many people from other cultures (such as at a multicultural university), relatively few intercultural relationships develop. To illustrate, in a study of 850 students at a diverse and multicultural university Halualani, Chitgopekar, Morrison and Dodge (2004) discovered that relatively little intercultural communication occurred outside the classroom or work environment. That is, participants reported having intercultural contact, but that contact was predominately limited to more professional and less intimate situations. Moreover, participants also reported having very narrow interaction patterns with intercultural others. On average, students interacted with only one other racial or ethnic group, despite the fact that they had the potential to interact with individuals from many different groups. Additional research has reported similar findings (Abrams & Hogg, 2004; Groeppel-Klein, Germelmann, & Glaum, 2010; Halualani, 2008).

One likely explanation for the lack of intercultural interaction occurring in situations where it might otherwise occur is that intercultural interactions are more challenging and complex than *intracultural* ones (Gudykunst & Kim, 2003) because interactants tend to be highly uncertain (i.e., they lack confidence in their ability to predict what will happen and how to behave) and anxious (i.e., they experience feelings of discomfort, apprehension, or worry) about communicating with someone from another culture (Gudykunst, 1995). In particular, Neuliep and Ryan (1998) have looked at the role that uncertainty plays in intercultural interactions. Using Gudykunst and Kim's (1984) idea that individuals initially approach all unknown people as strangers, Neuliep and Ryan (1998) explored the level of "strangeness" individuals experience in their first interactions with intercultural others. They explained that individuals usually have

very little familiarity with people from another culture, which, in turn, amplifies the “strangeness” they feel toward intercultural others. In turn, intercultural communicators feel that more effort is required than in interactions with strangers from our own culture.

In response to the uncertainty that intercultural communication can produce, individuals are motivated to find ways to simplify their expectations about members of other cultures. As such, stereotypes may play a large role in individuals’ perceptions of individuals from other cultures because they allow one to easily categorize culturally different others. These categories then work to reduce our uncertainty about what to expect from individuals from other cultures. Individuals often rely on pre-existing knowledge and stereotypes during intercultural interactions, especially during conversations in which the interactants do not know each other well (Manusov & Hegde, 1993). However, stereotypes may also work to constrain intercultural communication and impede the development of intercultural relationships (Fiske, 1998). Stereotypes (and intergroup categorization more generally) often come hand in hand with anxiety about intercultural communication (Greenland & Brown, 1999; Gudykunst, 1995). This anxiety, in turn, may actually lead a person to avoid communication altogether with a person from a person from a particular cultural group. When an interaction does occur, stereotypes often serve to limit the nature of the conversation so that it meets one’s expectations for those stereotypes (Fiske, 1998). Specifically, stereotypes may lead individuals to make adjustments, or accommodations, to their communication styles in ways that influence appropriateness and effectiveness in positive or negative ways (e.g., Communication Accommodation Theory; Giles, 1973).

Anxiety and uncertainty have a greater influence on intercultural communication the more that cultures differ from one another (Redmond, 2000). That is, the more culturally distinct two cultures are in beliefs, values, and norms (as examples of cultural variation), the greater

potential there is for misunderstandings and difficulties in communication. Two cultural groups that differ greatly from one another are those of North America (specifically the United States) and East Asia (specifically China) (Szalay, Strohl, Fu, & Lao, 1994). As an example, according to Geert Hofstede's Cultural Taxonomies (2001), US culture and Chinese culture differ significantly on values of collectivism/individualism, power distance, and masculinity/femininity. Additionally, Chinese and US American cultures differ greatly in communication style (Hall, 1981). Specifically, China is a more high-context culture than the United States, which could lead to misunderstandings when individuals from these two cultures interact (Würtz, 2005). With the potential cultural differences that exist between individuals from the US and China, it is critical that we develop a better understanding of how communication difficulties may be avoided and positive relationships developed between individuals from the US and China. This is important for several reasons (Buzan, 2010). The US and China have what may be characterized as a tenuous relationship. Historically, value systems and political ideologies have been at odds between the two nations, with laws in the US passed to ban Chinese immigration during the late 19th and early 20th century, the rise of communism in China under Mao and McCarthyism in the US during the mid-20th century, and disagreements about human rights issues (including the events in Tiananmen Square) in the later part of the 20th century (Zhang, X., 2010). In more recent years, the two countries have worked quite successfully together in business, trade, and politics.

In an age of globalization, the US and China are very much connected economically, and these connections are likely to continue to grow. Both have become superpowers in the global stage, and as such, the two countries both work together and compete with one another on a daily basis. The US is a significant importer of goods from China, providing a boost to China's growth.

The number of Americans working in China and Chinese having business in the States will only continue to increase in today's economy. In addition, the US has enormous amounts of debt in bond markets, and the majority of those bonds are held by China. In looking forward to the future, rises in both countries' populations, environmental change, and decreases in access to natural resources such as food, water, and energy sources mean that these two nations will need to continue to cooperate and find productive ways to work together or potentially fall object to conflict and hostility. Much of this cooperation may begin with individuals from both nations coming together, learning about one another, and developing positive relationships.

One context where there is great potential for communication between Americans and Chinese is on university campuses. As of 2010, there were a total of 690,923 international students enrolled at US educational institutions. Of those, approximately 18.5% (or 127,268) of international students originated from China alone. In fact, Chinese students are the largest group of students from a particular nation (Institute of International Education, 2010). Many of these Chinese students encounter difficulties with stress and adaptation during their stay in the US due to perceived cultural differences and lack of support from others (Fritz, Chin, & DeMarinis, 2008; Heggins & Jackson, 2003; Le & Gardner, 2010; Yan & Berliner, 2009).

Social support and connections with others are vital for individuals to successfully adapt to another culture. In particular, communication with host nationals can be a necessary part of the adaptation process (Adelman, 1988; Albrecht & Adelman, 1984; Fontaine, 1986; Kim, 1987). However, individuals going through cultural adaptation cannot communicate with host nationals if the host nationals are not willing to communicate with individuals from other cultures. Hence, in the context of Chinese international students, the degree to which American students are willing to communicate with them influences Chinese students' adaptation to US culture

(Zimmermann, 1995).

Therefore, this project examined US students' perceptions of communication with Chinese international students. The goal of this project is to better understand which factors may inhibit or facilitate positive communication among American students and Chinese students on a US campus. Specifically, the results of this project provide us a better understanding of the roles that stereotypes and other culturally-relevant characteristics play in intercultural communication between American and Chinese students. Specifically, I argue that stereotypes, previous experience with Chinese culture, and intercultural sensitivity may all influence American students' perceptions of Chinese international students and communication with them.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

When coming to understand what might best encourage communication between American students and Chinese students, several key ideas must first be understood. In this chapter, the review of literature is divided into three sections. First, a firmer grasp of the perceptions that American students have toward Chinese students (specifically the stereotypes they possess) provides us with initial information about why American students may seek out or avoid communication with Chinese students. Thus, stereotypes, including their functions, processes, and content, are defined. Next, two communication concepts known to be influenced by stereotypes, namely anxiety and accommodation, are outlined. Finally, individual characteristics related to intercultural communication, and which influence anxiety and accommodation, are discussed.

Stereotypes

Stereotypes describe the assertions that individuals make about the characteristics of members of particular groups, and are primarily cognitive processes of categorization (Fiske, 1998). Essentially, they may be seen as cognitive structures that contain information about a group and the attributes that characterize members of that group (Weber & Crocker, 1983). Typically, stereotypes about cultural groups are varied and contain a combination of both positive and negative attributes (Operio & Fiske, 2003). Stereotypes may be accurate in certain contexts and for certain group members, but they can be problematic in that they may cause one to overlook counter-stereotypic information and lead us to behave in ways that direct interactions to reinforce our pre-existing stereotypes (e.g., the self-fulfilling prophecy, Snyder, 1992). Much recent research on stereotypes has centered on the reasons why individuals rely on stereotypes in

interactions (*stereotype functions*) and the ways that stereotypes work in interactions or the ways they can be changed (*stereotype processes*). More recently, there has been a revival of attention to *stereotype content*, or the actual generalizations that individuals make about particular groups. This project focuses on all three, with an emphasis on stereotype content and processes (Fiske, 1998).

Stereotype functions. Stereotypes can serve important functions (Fiske, 1998). There is a basic assumption among social psychological theorists that categorization is a normal human process. It allows people to more quickly make sense of the world around them. This is true of objects as well as people. Essentially, we rely on cognitive shortcuts such as stereotypes when we are unmotivated or unable to put greater effort into deeper processing. When we place individuals into categories and ascribe attributes to them based on those categories (in other words, stereotype them), we feel more confident about what to expect from them and how to proceed in interacting with them. Thus, stereotypes themselves are not necessarily negative.

In this way, stereotypes can be useful for intercultural communicators because they may serve to reduce uncertainty and increase our confidence in predicting the behavior of others (Gudykunst & Kim, 2003). For example, if an individual meets a person from another culture and he is able to refer to his stereotypes about people of that culture (especially if those stereotypes are positive in content), he is likely to feel more comfortable engaging in a conversation with that person. Stereotypes can, at times, actually encourage intercultural communication to take place.

On the other hand, they can also work to reinforce intergroup perceptions of “us” and “them” that may impede cooperative and positive communication with people we consider to be members of an outgroup (Operio & Fiske, 2003). The act of referring to a stereotype to generate

expectations about another person highlights that the person is different from you and encourages identification with the ingroup. When stereotyping comes from the dominant group, stereotypes can also be used to support the continued subordination of minority groups (Jost & Banaji, 1993). The basic assumption is that although stereotypes may be useful in some situations, over reliance on stereotypes is detrimental to successful intercultural communication. The reason for this is that stereotypes are the starting point for all forms of intergroup bias, including prejudice and discrimination (Fiske, 1998).

Stereotype processes. Stereotyping is a cognitive process. Specifically, stereotypes are person perception schemas. They influence us by both eliciting emotions such as anxiety or attitudes toward outgroup members (when negative, these attitudes are considered prejudice) and directing our behaviors (when negative, these behaviors are considered discrimination). Depending on the favorability of the traits that make up the stereotypes for a particular group, we may respond positively or negatively toward members of that group. However, regardless of whether or not stereotypes are positive or negative, when individuals hold too strongly to stereotypes about an outgroup, they tend to see members of that group as homogeneous representations of stereotype categories, attribute outgroup members' behaviors to stereotypes about that outgroup, and engage in group-serving biases (Fiske, 1998). Even for low prejudiced individuals, the default response is a stereotype-based response, especially when one is not highly motivated to think about a particular action (Devine, Plant, & Blair, 2003). Specific ways that stereotypes may influence behavior, specifically in the context of intercultural communication, are addressed in the next section of this chapter.

Research on stereotype processes are often focused around how we might go about influencing or reducing people's stereotypes. They can be especially difficult to overcome,

primarily because many stereotype processes occur at an automatic level. We are aware of some of our stereotypes, but the automatic parts are most enduring (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Beach, 2000). It is assumed that reliance on stereotypes should be minimized to best encourage positive intercultural communication (Gudykunst & Kim, 2003). Thus, Gudykunst and Kim argue that the first step is to become aware of our stereotypes and increase their complexity. To increase stereotype complexity means to increase the number of cognitions one has available to reference for a particular categorization. That is, if we can learn to rely less on a fixed set of stereotypes about an outgroup, we can also reduce our prejudice and discrimination toward that outgroup. One of the best ways to increase the complexity of stereotypes is to interact more with members of stereotyped groups, especially in the context of intergroup friendships (Pettigrew, 1998). Fiske (1998) states that bias change is a function of knowledge, motivation, and mood. That is, if our bias is a lack of knowledge, we should be capable of gaining sufficient knowledge to change our stereotypes about a particular group. Additionally, if we are motivated to change our stereotypes, we will likely put the energy and awareness that is required to create lasting change. Finally, sometimes our mood allows us to be conscious of our biases and sometimes it does not.

The process of reducing the influence of stereotypes is long and requires consistent work to create true change. However, the first steps are to foster awareness of the stereotypes that one possesses and find opportunities to gain more complete information about a cultural group through exposure. Students at university have a unique opportunity to achieve just that, if they take the opportunity to do so.

Stereotype content. Some of the first research dealing with stereotypes was related to stereotype content. Researchers would compile lists of the most common stereotypes held about particular groups in society. Often the goal of these types of studies was to explore the rigidity

and inaccuracy of minority group stereotypes (Madon et al., 2001). The most famous of these make up the Princeton trilogy (Gilbert, 1951; Karlins, Coffman, & Walters, 1969; Katz & Braly, 1933). In these studies, participants selected the traits (out of a list of 84) that best described 10 ethnic and national groups (e.g., African Americans, Chinese, Irish, and Turks). In the later part of the 20th century, there was a move away from stereotype content research and toward stereotype processes because of the ability to generalize knowledge about stereotype processes (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). That is, stereotype content is considered to be applicable only to the populations and groups examined, but knowledge about stereotype processes can be used across contexts.

At the same time, gaining knowledge about the content of stereotypes can be beneficial in terms of understanding the experience of particular groups in a society and encourage stereotype change by finding ways to counter the most damaging of stereotypes. Fiske et al. (2002) have proposed that one way of understanding the content of stereotypes is to organize them by dimensions. Specifically, they propose that stereotypes may be organized using two dimensions, warmth and competence. On the warmth dimension, stereotypes may range from cold (members are seen as unfriendly and inhuman) to warm (members are seen as friendly and welcoming). On the competence dimension, stereotypes may range from incompetent (members are seen as unintelligent, incapable, and useless) to competent (members are seen as intelligent, capable, useful). According to Fiske et al.'s stereotype content model, stereotypes of groups are often a combination of the opposites of the two dimensions (such as the elderly who are seen to be low in competence but high in warmth or the rich who are seen as highly competent but cold). Less commonly, groups can be stereotyped as both cold and incompetent (e.g., welfare recipients) or both warm and competent (e.g., ingroup members; ingroups included Christians and women for

the Fiske et al. study).

East Asian stereotypes. Of the research that has been conducted to compile lists of stereotypes about individuals of East Asian descent, most is focused on Asian Americans as a general category, and much of these lists are developed through analyses of media portrayals of Asian characters. Very little research examines stereotypes about particular Asian cultural groups (such as Chinese international students) within the US.

Whereas more recent stereotype research has grouped all those who originate from Asia into one category (often called “Asian Americans,” the original stereotype content studies (e.g., Gilbert, 1951; Karlins, Coffman, & Walters, 1969; Katz & Braly, 1933) did examine Chinese individuals as a group separate from other Asian cultures (specifically Japan and Turkey). In 1933, Katz and Braly found that Chinese individuals were stereotyped as superstitious, sly, conservative, tradition-loving, and loyal to family ties. By 1951, Gilbert found that the stereotype had moved away from the idea that Chinese are superstitious and sly to tradition-loving.

Today, research has consistently found that Asian Americans are underrepresented in the media (Lee & Joo, 2005). Of the portrayals that do exist, many Asian characters are in stereotypical roles (Lee & Joo, 2005; Park, Gabbadon, & Chernin, 2006). The most frequent stereotypes represented are that of an immigrant who is not assimilated, speaks poor English, and lacks basic social skills (Suzuki, 2002) and/or that of an immigrant who is hard-working, intelligent, and polite (Lee & Joo, 2005; Park et al., 2006).

When Americans are asked about their perceptions of Asian Americans, they report similar stereotypes as those portrayed in the media. In a study involving nearly 900 undergraduate students, Ho and Jackson (2001) identified negative characteristics (i.e., antisocial, cold, cunning, deceitful, narrow-minded, nerdy, pushy, selfish, and sly), positive characteristics

(i.e., ambitious, hardworking, intelligent, mathematical, family-oriented, obedient, self-disciplined, serious, traditional, artistic, imaginative, expressive, and musical) and neutral characteristics (i.e., quiet and reserved) that are attributed to Asian Americans. However, they also noted that positive characteristics related to intelligence and self-discipline can lead either to positive attitudes such as admiration and respect or to negative attitudes related to threat. Asians are also often considered a “model minority” in that they are seen to be hardworking, ambitious, intelligent, mathematical, obedient, self-disciplined, serious, and traditional, traits which contribute positively to society (Ho & Jackson, 2001; Lee & Joo, 2005). Wong, Lai, Nagasawa, and Lin (1998) found that Asian Americans also attribute similar stereotypes to their own group. According to Fiske et al. (2002), Asians are most often considered to be highly competent but cold. They refer to this as the “envious” stereotype because non-Asians view competence as positive, but they feel that Asian competence may weaken their own group’s status. These stereotypes may lead Americans to feel less likely to communicate with Asian Americans (Aberson & Haag, 2007; Zhang, Q., 2010).

This project looked in particular at Americans perceptions of communication with Chinese international students. Therefore, the first goal of the project was to identify common stereotypes that American students have about Chinese international students. Although these stereotypes are expected to be similar to existing literature concerning stereotypes about Asians (e.g., Ho & Jackson, 2001), it is important to check for differences in stereotypes or additional stereotypes for this particular group of East Asians in the US. It could be quite problematic to impose pre-conceived stereotypes onto a particular population without first checking that those stereotypes are held by that population (Fiske, 1998). Hence, the following research question is posed:

RQ1: What are the primary stereotypes that American students have about Chinese international students?

Communication Concepts Influenced by Stereotypes

Returning focus to stereotype processes and gleaned from theory and previous research, two communication concepts heavily influenced by stereotypes are especially relevant to intercultural communication (and thus, communication between American students and Chinese students). These concepts are anxiety and accommodation. When handled appropriately, anxiety and accommodation can both lead to positive outcomes in intercultural communication. Specific to this project, anxiety and accommodation management are expected to influence American students' willingness to engage in communication with and befriend a Chinese student (social attractiveness). To begin, the influence of stereotypes on anxiety is outlined. This argument is further developed using the assumptions of Anxiety/Uncertainty Management theory (Gudykunst, 1995). Finally, research showing that anxiety influences intercultural communication is cited.

Anxiety. Stephan, Stephan, and Gudykunst (1999) explain that anxiety, generally, is “produced by stress combined with the perception of a situation as personally dangerous or threatening” (p. 613). It is an affective response that occurs for a variety of reasons in a variety of contexts. Intercultural communication is often anxiety-producing primarily due to concerns about one's ability to prevent miscommunication, to behave appropriately and without offense, to recognize when the other person has negative intentions, or to avoid embarrassment (Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Stephan et al., 1999). Nearly any intercultural interaction may produce at least some anxiety. In this way, anxiety is often considered a distinguishing factor in intercultural communication (Wilder, 1993). However, anxiety is more likely to be experienced in interactions between groups that have history of conflict, are perceived to be very different from

one another, or have little contact with one another (Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Islam & Hewstone, 1993). As stated earlier, US and Chinese culture differ greatly from one another. Consequently, one might presume that interactions between Americans and Chinese, especially between strangers, engender at least some anxiety.

In terms of the role that stereotypes play in feelings of anxiety, we do know that high levels of anxiety are associated with more superficial levels of processing, greater reliance on stereotypes during interaction (Wilder, 1993), as well as higher levels of prejudice when those stereotypes are negative (Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald, & Tur-Kaspa, 1998). To support these claims, Stephan and Stephan (1985) found that for Hispanic students, higher levels of anxiety were related to increased stereotyping of outgroup members (i.e., Anglos). Greenland and Brown (1999) observed that British and Japanese participants who felt more anxiety were also more likely to categorize (stereotype) outgroup members. Aberson and Haag (2007) found that higher levels of anxiety lead to higher acceptance of negative stereotypes about African Americans as well as negative intergroup attitudes. In contrast, lower levels of anxiety lead participants to be more inclined to accept positive stereotypes and express more positive attitudes about African Americans. Hullett and Witte (2001) noted that international students (from a variety of countries) who possessed more positive stereotypes about Americans and less anxiety adapted better to US culture than those who possessed more negative stereotypes and more anxiety.

Stereotypes are more likely to be used in times of high anxiety because they allow perceivers to generate expectations for how others may behave, thereby reducing the uncertainty that one feels and alleviating anxiety. However, although stereotypes may be used to mitigate feelings of uncertainty and anxiety that individuals experience when engaging in intercultural

communication (Gudykunst, 1995), they may also lead to increased anxiety when the stereotypes that are activated are negative or when the stereotypes we have for a persons' group do not match the person we come into contact with (Greenland & Brown, 1999). Accordingly, it is likely that the level of anxiety that someone experiences when asked to potentially communicate with a Chinese international student will be influenced by the stereotypical cues that are available about that student, but the exact relationship between stereotypes and anxiety in this context, based on previous research, is not quite clear.

It is important to note that not all anxiety in intercultural communication is negative. In fact, some anxiety may actually lead to positive communication outcomes. Essentially, some degree of anxiety (i.e., at relatively low to moderate levels) is considered positive in that it encourages attentiveness during an interaction and can motivate individuals to communicate with one another (Gudykunst, 1995). However, anxiety becomes problematic when it reaches a level that interferes with one's ability to communicate effectively. Anxiety Uncertainty Management Theory (AUM, Gudykunst, 1995) attempts to explain how we might best understand the role that anxiety and uncertainty play in effective intercultural communication.

Anxiety/Uncertainty Management Theory (AUM, Gudykunst, 1995) initially began as an application of uncertainty reduction theory (URT, Berger & Calabrese, 1975) to intercultural contexts. Both anxiety and uncertainty are included in this theory because anxiety refers to a person's affect about a particular situation, and anxiety tends to be higher in intergroup settings, and uncertainty is a cognitive concept which describes people's confidence in predicting or explaining the behaviors of others.

The major assumption of AUM is that the management of anxiety and uncertainty acts as an intervening process between other variables and effective communication. That is, the

management of anxiety and uncertainty is the “basic cause” influencing effective communication. The influence of other variables typically considered vital for effective intercultural communication, such as identity, positive expectations, similarity, etc., is influenced by how well individuals are able to manage their anxiety and uncertainty. The aim of the theory, then, is to improve communication effectiveness.

The theory is composed of a total of 47 axioms. Gudykunst (1995) argued that the strength of this theory is its complexity. The complexity, he states, allows it to be practical in a variety of contexts, including understanding communication effectiveness, diversity management, conflict management, and cultural adaptation. However, the complexity of this theory is also its primary weakness. It is impossible to construct a study that tests all theory assumptions at once, making proving the overall theory very difficult. In order to best focus analysis, this project directly tests the assumption that stereotypes influence levels of anxiety, which influences communication effectiveness (specifically willingness to meet a Chinese student and perceptions of her social attractiveness).

Stereotypes influence levels of anxiety, and anxiety has been connected to willingness to communicate with as well as perceptions of social attractiveness of members of other groups. Duronto, Nishida, and Nakayama (2005) found that Japanese students higher in anxiety about interacting with international students were more likely to avoid communication with people from other cultures. Samochowiec and Florak (2010) examined the relationship between uncertainty and anxiety on willingness to interact with a person from another (unspecified) culture. They found that the more certainty that participants had about a member from another culture (based on hypothetical scenarios manipulating the apparent predictability of the described person), the more likely they were to want to interact with the described person. Incidental

anxiety (manipulated during the experiment by asking participants to think about how they feel when uncertain) moderated the relationship between certainty and willingness to communicate. That is, when participants were induced to feel more anxious, they were even less likely to want to interact with a poorly predictable person than when the person was described in a way that made him/her seem predictable. Thus, higher anxiety appears to lead to less willingness to interact with a member from a different culture. Interestingly, when anxiety was high and participants were required to interact with one another (in a dyadic research design), Neuliep and Ryan (1998) noted that uncertainty was reduced more during an initial interaction with an international student than when anxiety was low because more anxious participants asked more and deeper questions of their intercultural partner. This finding provides evidence that anxiety can motivate interactants to behave in ways that reduce their uncertainty. However, when individuals are given a choice whether or not to interact and they have anxiety about that interaction, they will likely choose not to interact in that situation.

Accommodation. In addition to anxiety, the second communication concept known to be influenced by stereotypes and lead to many communicative outcomes is accommodation. First, the main assumptions of Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT; Giles, 1973; Coupland, Coupland, Giles, & Henwood, 1988) are outlined. Next, the influence of stereotypes on accommodation is explained. Finally, research concerning accommodations made during intercultural communication is summarized.

Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT, originally Speech Accommodation theory, Giles, 1973) helps to explain the ways that intercultural communicators make adjustments to their communication behaviors in order to improve, or sometimes impede, an interaction. The basic assumption of CAT is that individuals consciously and unconsciously

make adjustments to their communication behaviors in order to achieve particular communicative and relational goals. Specifically, adjustments are made according to a conversation partner's actual communication behaviors (called approximation strategies) and/or our perceived or stereotyped expectations of our conversation partner's conversational needs (called attuning strategies). When accommodation contributes positively to the interaction (such as when accommodation facilitates understanding), positive outcomes result. Positive outcomes of accommodation can include increases in liking, respect, willingness to engage in future communication, among many others (e.g., Buller & Aune, 1992; Buller, LePoire, Aune, & Eloy, 1992; Gallois, Giles, Jones, Cargile, & Ota, 1995).

The first accommodation strategies to be outlined in the theory were the approximation strategies (Giles, 1973). These strategies describe the ways that communicators make adjustments to their communication style to become more similar (i.e., *convergence*) or more dissimilar (i.e., *divergence*) to one's conversation partner. Convergence is presumed to have positive communication outcomes. For example, convergence emphasizes similarities between communicators, increasing intimacy. Communicators who converge successfully tend to be seen as more likable and attractive than those who do not. Divergence, on the other hand, is presumed to have negative communication outcomes as it highlights differences between communicators. Communicators who diverge also tend to be seen as rude and inconsiderate.

Attuning strategies, conversely, describe the ways that communicators make accommodations based on the stereotypes they have about the group they perceive their conversation partner to belong to (Coupland et al., 1988). *Interpretability* strategies involve accommodations that are made to enhance understanding when one's stereotypes about a person's group membership presume comprehension difficulties due to linguistic or hearing

deficiencies. For example, interpretability strategies such as reducing speech rate and repetition are often used when communicating with international students because stereotypes about international students lead one to believe that they do not speak English fluently. *Discourse management* strategies are used when one's stereotypes inform the other person's conversational needs in an interaction. For example, an American student may limit the topics (e.g., popular culture) that she talks about with an international student because she assumes that the international student would not have knowledge about or be interested in those topics.

When communicator's perceptions or stereotypes lead to inappropriate accommodation behaviors, this is considered problematic (Shepard, Giles, & LePoire, 2001). Particularly, individuals may exceed necessary adjustments and engage in what is called overaccommodation, which is primarily motivated by stereotypical expectations of conversations with a member of a particular cultural group. Similarly, individuals may not make necessary adjustments and engage in what is called underaccommodation. Both are perceived highly unfavorably by the recipients of such communication. Conversely, accommodation that is viewed as appropriate and helpful leads to higher satisfaction overall (Giles et al., 2007).

In other words, when individuals are exposed to cues that activate particular stereotypes they have about individuals from a particular cultural group, communication is often affected. From intergenerational communication research, the communication predicament model of aging explains the role that stereotypes play in our communication with the elderly (Ryan, Giles, Bartolucci, & Henwood, 1986). The model states that through cues such as physical features, voice, context, etc., a younger person will recognize that they are communicating with an older person. The recognition of those cues can activate age stereotypes (often negative). In turn, this can lead to communication accommodation based on those stereotypes (using simpler language,

slower rate, etc.). Overaccommodation may result, which could be perceived as “patronizing talk.” The model proposes that this overaccommodation can lead to fewer communication opportunities for the elderly person, a decline in self-esteem, or a reduction in physical and cognitive abilities that is consistent with those stereotypes.

In a similar way, stereotypes about culturally different others may also influence accommodation, in both positive and negative ways. In particular, when exposed to cues that are consistent with stereotypes about Chinese international students (e.g., hard-working, studious, socially awkward, nerdy, etc.), American students may feel the need to accommodate to expectations that the student will not speak English well and/or will be unfamiliar with American communication norms. Thus, it is proposed that presence of stereotypic information about a Chinese student will influence the accommodations that an American student sees as necessary during an interaction with that student.

Communication accommodation occurs on a regular basis within intercultural communication. Intercultural communicators appear to be quite aware of the necessity to make adjustments during their conversations with individuals from other cultures, and intercultural communicators often perceive these adjustments to be difficult or cumbersome. To illustrate evidence of this assumption, Jones, Gallois, Callan, and Barker (1999) explored the accommodation behaviors that took place between Australian students and professors with one another or with Chinese international students. They found that factors such as gender, relationship, and status influence the particular accommodation strategies that a person may engage in. However, overall, far more accommodations were made with Chinese students than with other Australians.

In addition, Chen (1997; 2002; 2003) has published a series of articles examining the

specific ways that individuals adjust their communication when communicating with someone from another culture. Chen (1997) partnered American students with either another American student or an East-Asian international student and asked them to converse for ten minutes. The conversations were then analyzed for instances of alignment talk, or talk that is directly related to the interpretation of, understanding of, or display of interest in the message itself. American students interacting with international students were found to use more of their conversation time for alignment talk than those interacting with other Americans. The intercultural interactions contained more instances of the participants spending time to ensure that their partners understood them than in conveying new information.

Using a similar design, Chen (2003) compared American students' initial interactions with another American student (an intracultural dyad) and an international student (an intercultural dyad). American participants were asked to engage in two ten-minute interactions, one with another American student, and the other with an international student of East-Asian origin. The participants noted that they felt more confused in the intercultural interactions because of the extra effort that was required to understand and be understood by the intercultural partner.

Lee and Boster (1991) asked students to interview both an intracultural and an intercultural partner. The participants, on average, were observed to ask the international students the same number of questions as they did students from their own culture. However, the types of questions that they asked intracultural partners were significantly more intimate than those asked of intercultural partners. Participants, as a whole, did not ask international students about their attitudes, opinions, or personalities. Instead, their questions focused on activities, preferences, or behaviors such as meanings about nonverbal gestures. Chen (2002) concluded

that American students had a greater degree of difficulty in finding “common ground” with international students than with other Americans. The participants reported having trouble finding conversation topics with their international partners because they were unfamiliar with the other culture. This absence of mutual knowledge created feelings of frustration and confusion in the American students. Additionally, those participants who reported the most difficulty also reported the least satisfaction with the conversation.

The presence of stereotypes can play a significant role in how individuals communicate with someone from another culture. Manusov and Hegde (1993) found that Americans with more perceived knowledge and stronger stereotypes about Indians communicated with an Indian student much differently than Americans who reported very little knowledge or preconceptions about Indians. Specifically, knowledgeable participants provided feedback that was less open, brought up more varied topics but addressed them in less depth, and showed more US bias in their verbal communication than less knowledgeable participants. Thus, it appeared as though pre-existing knowledge and stereotypes served to frame, and in some cases, limit the communication that occurred.

The relationship between stereotypes and accommodation is important because appropriate accommodations during an intercultural interaction are vital for the individuals involved to feel positively about that interaction and to encourage communication in the future. In response to information that leads an American student to perceive a Chinese student as matching particular stereotypes that they have about Chinese international students overall, they may perceive a need to accommodate if they were to communicate with that Chinese student. It is possible that American students may be dissuaded by the need to make accommodations, which can be seen as effortful, and avoid communication with international students altogether,

limiting the possibility for relationships to develop between them.

Based upon current understandings of stereotypes and anxiety, accommodation, as well as willingness to interact with and perceptions of the social attractiveness of a person from a different culture, the following hypothesis is proposed:

Hypothesis 1: Across stereotype conditions, (a) anxiety about interacting with, (b) perceived necessary accommodations when communicating with, (c) willingness to meet, and (d) perceptions of social attractiveness of a particular Chinese international student will differ.

Preexisting Cultural Characteristics

In addition to stereotypes, anxiety, and accommodations, this project also explored the role that relevant cultural competencies and experiences play in determining American student perspectives toward communication with Chinese international students. The variables of focus are intercultural communication competence, as defined by intercultural sensitivity, and previous contact with Chinese culture. Both were presumed to play a significant role in the influence that stereotypes have on both the anxiety that American students feel about interacting with a Chinese student and the accommodations they deem to be necessary during that interaction.

Intercultural sensitivity. Researchers have often turned their focus to intercultural communication competence in an attempt to explain the characteristics of effective intercultural communication and to promote more positive intercultural outcomes. Intercultural competence research has been examined from a variety of approaches (Imahori & Lanigan, 1989). Among them, the two most common are skill and trait based. The first focuses on the observable behaviors and skills that a competent intercultural communicator needs to use when interacting with those from a different culture (e.g., Ruben & Kealey, 1979). Thus, in order to be

interculturally competent within a particular culture, according to the skills perspective, an individual would need to know the language of the other culture, know how to use verbal and non-verbal behaviors to interact effectively with members of the culture, as well as be flexible enough to adapt to unknown situations (Ruben & Kealey, 1979). Another line of intercultural communication competence researchers argue that competence is found in the traits of an individual such as personality, worldview, and cultural awareness (e.g., Ulrey & Amason, 2001). That is, competence itself is a general characteristic that certain individuals hold. A person's particular traits work together (or against) to predict his/her ability to interact effectively and appropriately in intercultural situations.

A third line of intercultural communication competence literature argues that both appropriate skills and traits are necessary for effective intercultural communication (e.g., Chen, 1989; Chen & Starosta, 1996). Chen (1989) found in a survey of international students that competence is composed of four dimensions: personal attributes, communication skills, psychological adaptation, and cultural awareness. First, certain personal attributes, such as self-awareness and social relaxation contribute to competence. Second, an interculturally competent person must possess certain communication skills, such as the ability to communicate in a common language. Third, Chen (1989) explained that aspects of psychological adaptation, such as openness and tolerance for ambiguity might improve our communication with someone from another culture. Finally, awareness of the values, customs, and norms of the other culture are important for intercultural communication competence.

Building upon these ideas Chen and Starosta (1996) argued that intercultural communication competence consists of three interrelated processes: affect, behavior, and cognition. The affective process involves those traits that predict positive emotional outcomes

from intercultural interactions, including such characteristics as being open-minded, nonjudgmental, and lower in anxiety. Second, the behavioral process involves knowledge about the ways in which one should act in intercultural interactions (such as the ability to make appropriate accommodations). Competence behaviors include, as examples, the ability to produce and interpret messages and knowledge about interaction management (e.g., turn taking, small talk). Neuliep and Ryan (1998) noted that individuals higher in socio-communicative orientation (a measure composed of two communication behaviors: assertiveness and responsiveness) had lower levels of intercultural communication apprehension and less uncertainty about communicating with someone from another culture. Finally, the cognitive process involves a willingness to engage in intercultural communication, awareness of oneself and the ways that cultures vary in norms, beliefs, values, etc., and an ability to reduce uncertainty and gain necessary cultural knowledge. Soderstrom and Gudykunst (1987) found that reductions in uncertainty lead to stronger relationships between members of different cultural groups.

The concept of intercultural sensitivity refers to an individual's skill at each of these levels of competence (Bennett, 1986). It is composed of five dimensions. First, *interaction engagement* relates to individuals' attitudes about engaging in intercultural communication. Second, *respect for cultural differences* relates to the level of acceptance individuals have for different belief and value systems. Third, *interaction confidence* relates to individuals' level of comfort and confidence when engaging in intercultural communication. Fourth, *interaction enjoyment* describes the negative or positive feelings individuals experience when communicating interculturally. Fifth and finally, *interaction attentiveness* explains the amount of effort individuals are willing to exert when engaging in intercultural communication. These five dimensions, combined, indicate the affective, cognitive, and behavioral aspects of intercultural

communication competence. Intercultural sensitivity has been found to be a good predictor of positive intercultural communication (e.g., Altshuler, Sussman, Kachur, 2003; Paige, Jacobs-Cassuto, & Yershova, 2003). This project uses intercultural sensitivity (which explains general intercultural communication competence) to help explain American student perceptions of communication with a specific person from China.

Although intercultural sensitivity measures a person's perceptions of communication competence rather than his or her actual skills, the assumption of intercultural communication competence research is that the more competent an individual perceives him/herself to be in communicating with other cultures generally, the better he or she will be at communicating with individuals from specific cultures (Wiseman, 2002). In particular, they will be more sensitive to the needs of their conversation partner through accommodations that are based on observation rather than stereotypes and less anxious about engaging in intercultural communication.

Contact with Chinese culture. Secondly, one of the most powerful forces behind successful intercultural communication is the experience that is gained through interactions with other cultures. The more often people are able to interact with another culture and gain real-life knowledge about it, the less uncertainty they have about that culture (Gudykunst & Kim, 2003). They are also more likely to feel competent in their intercultural communication abilities in general (Zimmermann, 1995; Cui, Berg, & Jiang, 1998; Taylor, Landreth, & Bang, 2005). The theory that explains how experience interacting with members of a cultural group can improve attitudes toward and perceptions of the group as a whole is called intergroup contact theory (Pettigrew, 1998).

Intergroup contact theory (Pettigrew, 1998) originated with Allport's (1954) intergroup contact hypothesis. The intergroup hypothesis predicts that the more an individual has contact

that fulfills certain conditions (e.g., contact that is voluntary, involves equal status between interactants, demonstrates shared goals) the less prejudice he or she will have toward that out-group. Pettigrew (1998) expanded the intergroup contact hypothesis into the intergroup contact theory by explaining the processes through which prejudice reduced through contact. The key to Pettigrew's theory of intergroup contact is that the way in which contact takes place, not the contact itself, may influence prejudicial attitude. Beyond prejudice reduction, contact may also influence anxiety and communication behaviors.

Spencer-Rodgers and McGovern (2002) examined the feelings that American students have toward international students. Overall, the Americans reported having very little contact with international students, which led to stereotypical attitudes about them. These stereotypes were overwhelmingly negative in nature. However, those American students who did have close contact with international students were less likely to attribute stereotypes to them, and they had an overall positive attitude about international students.

In particular, the more contact with another cultural group that a person is able to have, the less anxious he or she will be about communicating with that cultural group in the future. Anxiety is often found to be a significant mediator in the relationship between contact and overall intergroup attitudes, but it may also be seen as a significant outcome of contact in its own right (Page-Gould, Mendes, & Major, 2010; Page-Gould, Mendoza-Denton, & Tropp, 2008; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). As an example, Islam and Hewstone (1993) found that Hindus in Bangladesh who had more contact with Muslims had much lower levels of anxiety about communicating with other Muslims than those with less contact. Page-Gould et al. (2008) found that Latinos/as and Whites who had cross-group friendships had lower levels of anxiety when in intergroup contexts than those without a friendship with someone from another cultural group.

Jaasma (2002) studied sixth graders in a multiethnic high school. Results showed that the more intergroup friendships a student had, the less anxiety and uncertainty he/she felt about interacting with outgroup members.

The relationship between contact and accommodation is less obvious when consulting previous research. However, one prediction that could be made is that the more experience a person has in communicating with individuals from a particular cultural group, the more knowledgeable he or she will be about how to make appropriate adjustments to communication. There have been some discussions of the relationships between contact and accommodation within the grandparent-grandchild relationship (Harwood, Hewstone, Paolini, & Voci, 2005; Soliz & Harwood, 2006; Tam, Hewstone, Harwood, Voci, & Kenworthy, 2006), but the connection between these two variables is not entirely clear.

Intuitively, individuals with more contact with Chinese students (and Chinese culture more generally) will have more knowledge about what to expect and what communication accommodations are necessary (and when they should be used) when communicating with Chinese students. As long as their previous contact has been positive, it could also be expected that they would feel positively about future interactions with Chinese students, have less anxiety about them, and make more appropriate accommodations during the interaction.

From our understanding of intergroup contact and intercultural competence, the following hypothesis is proposed:

Hypothesis 2: For all conditions, intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact with Chinese culture will (a) negatively predict the anxiety that an individual feels about interacting with a particular Chinese international student and (b) positively predict the accommodations perceived to be necessary during an interaction with that Chinese

student.

Finally, and as primary focus for this project, I examined the influence of stereotypes about Chinese international students, anxiety, and perceived necessary accommodations on willingness to interact with a described Chinese student and perceptions of her social attractiveness. In view of the fact that intercultural sensitivity and previous contact with Chinese culture were expected to have a large role in predicting anxiety and perceived necessary accommodation, the influence that these preexisting characteristics have was controlled when analyses were conducted. This allowed for a more focused look at the specific relationships among the primary variables of interest. Thus, the following research questions were proposed:

RQ2: When intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact are controlled, how does anxiety work to predict (a) willingness to meet and (b) social attractiveness for each condition?

RQ3: When intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact are controlled, how do perceived necessary accommodations when interacting with the described Chinese student work to predict (a) willingness to meet and (b) social attractiveness for each condition?

Summary of Hypotheses and Research Questions

RQ1: What are the primary stereotypes that Americans students have about Chinese international students?

H1: Across stereotype conditions, (a) anxiety about interacting with, (b) perceived necessary accommodations when communicating with, (c) willingness to meet, and (d) perceptions of social attractiveness of a particular Chinese international student will differ.

H2: For all conditions, intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact with Chinese culture will (a) negatively predict the anxiety that an individual feels about interacting with a particular Chinese international student and (b) positively predict the accommodations perceived to be necessary during an interaction with a particular Chinese student.

RQ2: When intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact are controlled how does anxiety work to predict (a) willingness to meet and (b) social attractiveness for each condition?

RQ3: When intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact are controlled how do perceived necessary accommodations when interacting with the described Chinese student work to predict (a) willingness to meet and (b) social attractiveness for each condition?

CHAPTER THREE

METHOD

Data collection and analysis were completed in three stages. Study 1 and Study 2 addressed the first research question: “What are the primary stereotypes that American students have about Chinese international students?”

Study 3 addressed the relationship among the stereotypes uncovered during Study 1 and Study 2, communication accommodation, communication anxiety, intercultural communication competence, and prior contact with Chinese international students through the use of hypothetical scenarios and survey design.

Study 1

To begin, members of the population of interest (American students on a large Midwestern university campus) were asked to report their perceptions of Chinese international students. Specifically of interest were the traits that American students attribute to Chinese students. The goal of this particular study was to explore the particular stereotypes that this population might hold toward a particular group of Asians in the United States.

Participants. A total of 100 students were recruited from courses at a large midwestern university. Of the participants who reported demographic information, the average age was 20.43 years old ($SD = 1.13$), 52% of participants were female, and 95% were Caucasian. Surveys were distributed during class time, and students were informed that they were not required to participate if they chose not to.

Procedures. Following the procedures of Hummert, Garstka, Shaner, and Strahm (1994), participants were asked to think about how they would describe the typical Chinese international student based on their personal opinions. They then wrote down these traits using short phrases

or single words. Participants were informed that they could include all descriptors that they associated with Chinese international students regardless of whether these descriptors were positive or negative or whether they personally believed the descriptors to be true (See Appendix A for the survey as it was provided to participants).

Analysis and results. A list of descriptors was compiled, synonymous descriptors were collapsed, and non-trait related descriptors (e.g., “fortune cookies,” “rice,” “short”) were removed. As a result, a total of 126 (from a total of 699) unique descriptors were generated to describe Chinese international students. The number of times each descriptor was listed by participants was also recorded. In order to find out the statistically significant frequency, Kenney’s (1987) binomial distribution formula was used. The result identified six as a statistically significant frequency ($p < .003$). Thus, the descriptors mentioned by six or more participants were chosen. Thirty-one traits were reported with a frequency that met statistical significance.

The 31 most frequently listed traits encompassed a range of positive and negative characteristics about Chinese students (See Table 1 for a list of traits and their frequencies). These traits are consistent with previous research regarding stereotypes about East Asians generally, specifically relevant to stereotypes about Chinese students as smart, hardworking, quiet, socially awkward, and non-assimilated (Stephan et al., 1991; Ho & Jackson, 2001; Park et al., 2006). In addition to previous research, additional characteristics emerged such as friendly, nice, loud, annoying, intrusive and conceited. Therefore, a second study was conducted to further explore American students’ perceptions of Chinese international students.

Table 1

Frequency of Traits Listed by American Students to Describe Chinese International Students

Trait	Frequency	Trait	Frequency
Smart	67	Funny	9
Quiet	26	Intrusive on personal space	9
Good at math & science	24	Strange	9
Shy	24	Cliquey/Exclusive	8
Studious	22	Never speaks English	8
Incompetent in English	21	Not assimilated	8
Friendly	19	Kind	7
Nice	19	Efficient	7
Intelligent	16	Different	7
Always with other Chinese	16	Oblivious	7
Hardworking	15	Annoying	6
Polite	15	Conceited	6
Loud	14	Fashionable	6
Socially Awkward	14	Not social	6
Only friends with other Chinese	11	Rude	6
Loner	10		

Study 2

To further explore the stereotypes that American students hold toward Chinese international students, the next step asked participants to report their perceptions of how prevalent the 31 traits from Study 1 are in the Chinese international student population. Participants also indicated the favorability of those traits.

Participants. One hundred forty-six American citizens at the same large Midwestern university completed an online survey. They were recruited from the basic communication studies course pool and received course credit in exchange for their participation. The average age of the participants was 19.85 years old ($SD = 3.26$), and 46.6% of participants were female. Of the students who reported ethnicity, 86.3% were White/Caucasian, 2.1% were African American, 6.1% were Hispanic, and 4.8% were biracial/other.

Procedures. Participants were directed to an online survey where they were first asked to read an informed consent statement. After consenting to continue with the project, they reported basic demographic information (age, sex, and ethnicity/race).

Next, participants completed a stereotype measure for Chinese international students. This measure included the list of traits generated during Study 1, which were incorporated into a revised version of Stephan et al.'s (1991) percentage technique for the measurement of stereotypes. This technique asks participants to indicate the percentage of group members who possess a particular trait. In addition, participants reported the favorability of each of the traits (e.g., 1 = the trait is very unfavorable, 7 = the trait is very favorable). Finally, participants were asked to group the list of traits provided into separate categories, based on the traits they believed to be present in a single Chinese student. They were allowed to create as many categories as they wished.

Analysis. Research question one asked the primary stereotypes that American students have about Chinese international students. Study 1 provided initial answers to this question. Study 2 allowed for a more complete understanding of how the traits that American students attribute to Chinese students fall together to form a more complete picture, or prototypes, of Chinese international students. A principal component analysis (PCA) with oblique rotation (promax with kaiser normalization) was conducted on the 31 most frequently listed traits culled from Study 1. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, $KMO = .81$ and all KMO values for individual items were well above the acceptable limit of 0.5. Bartlett's test of sphericity chi-square (465) = 1686.93, $p < .001$, indicated correlations between items were sufficiently large for PCA. An initial analysis was run to obtain eigenvalues for each component in the data. Seven components had eigenvalues over Kaiser's criteria of 2 and in

combination explained 67.99% of the variance. The scree plot was slightly ambiguous and showed inflexions that would justify retaining the first five components. Together, these five components explained 60.40% of the variance. Thus, analyses were run again, limiting the number of factors to 5. Table 2 shows the factor loadings after rotation. The traits that cluster most strongly on the same factors suggest that they fit together to form the same prototype about Chinese students. Factor 1 (oblivious/annoying) represents a prototype of Chinese students who never speak English and are oblivious, loud, conceited, intrusive on personal space, rude, annoying, and strange. Factor 2 (nice/friendly) represents a prototype of Chinese students who are kind, friendly, nice, polite, funny, fashionable, and efficient. Factor 3 (smart/hardworking) represents a prototype of Chinese students who are smart, good at math and science, intelligent, studious, and hardworking. Factor 4 (bad English/not assimilated) represents a prototype of Chinese students who are different, unable to speak English well, only friends with other Chinese students, and not assimilated to American culture. Finally, Factor 5 (shy/quiet) represents a prototype of Chinese students who are quiet, shy, loners, not very social, and socially awkward. These results are similar to those of the sorting task that asked participants to group the traits together into combinations that would be found in the same Chinese international student. See Table 3 for means and standard deviations of the percentage of Chinese students that American students believe possess the stereotype traits and the favorability of those traits.

Table 2

Factor Loadings for Exploratory Factor Analysis with Promax Rotation of Traits Attributed to Chinese Students by American Students

	1	2	3	4	5
Intrusive on personal space	.908				
Conceited	.777				
Oblivious	.734				
Loud	.712				
Annoying	.639				
Rude	.587				
Never speaks English	.529				
Strange	.404				
Polite		.840			
Kind		.784			
Friendly		.753			
Nice		.743			
Efficient		.643			
Funny		.507			
Fashionable		.457			
Good at math and science			.869		
Smart			.846		
Intelligent			.834		
Studious			.782		
Hardworking			.661		
Different				.849	
Only friends with other Chinese students				.727	
Cliquey/Exclusive				.682	
Always with groups of other Chinese students				.665	
Bad at English				.659	
Not assimilated to American culture				.424	
Quiet					.737
Shy					.710
Loner					.686
Not social					.621
Socially awkward					.580

Note: Factor loadings > .40 are shown

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations of the Percentage of Chinese Students Who Possess Stereotype Traits and the Favorability of those Traits.

	% Chinese (0-100 scale)		Favorability (7 pt scale)	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
<i><u>Oblivious/Annoying</u></i>				
Intrusive on Personal Space	30.24	26.81	2.36	1.39
Conceited	28.73	22.22	2.35	1.28
Oblivious	38.27	27.80	2.83	1.18
Loud	32.21	27.84	3.06	1.24
Annoying	31.73	29.13	2.28	1.19
Rude	28.24	23.86	2.04	1.22
Never Speaks English	38.55	27.53	2.48	1.35
Strange	36.49	26.47	2.88	1.39
<i><u>Nice/Friendly</u></i>				
Polite	61.72	26.02	5.92	1.14
Kind	65.21	21.85	5.79	1.37
Friendly	61.80	21.74	6.01	1.23
Nice	66.45	20.81	6.04	1.19
Efficient	65.18	21.95	5.53	1.21
Funny	41.34	24.53	5.59	1.35
Fashionable	44.21	25.95	4.63	1.10
<i><u>Smart/Hardworking</u></i>				
Good at math and science	75.70	17.07	5.29	1.39
Smart	77.99	16.82	5.93	1.25
Intelligent	78.99	15.45	5.99	1.03
Studious	75.40	18.41	5.47	1.32
Hardworking	72.82	20.59	5.81	1.08
<i><u>Bad at English/Not Assimilated</u></i>				
Different	56.50	26.92	4.02	1.28
Only friends with other Chinese students	63.65	29.38	3.19	1.49
Cliquey/Exclusive	56.94	29.77	2.73	1.39
Always with groups of other Chinese students	75.48	24.35	3.27	1.55
Bad at English	51.33	26.80	2.65	1.54
Not assimilated to American culture	50.51	26.98	2.98	1.41
<i><u>Quiet/Shy</u></i>				
Quiet	53.16	26.55	3.60	1.28
Shy	57.37	24.25	3.34	1.27
Loner	32.71	23.24	2.99	1.40
Not social	38.28	24.09	2.74	1.25
Socially awkward	48.51	25.41	2.87	1.33

Study 3

As the primary focus of this project, Study 3 considered the relationships among pre-existing conditions such as intercultural sensitivity and contact with Chinese culture, stereotypes about Chinese international students, and outcomes such as anxiety about and willingness to meet a particular Chinese international student, the social attractiveness of that student, and the accommodations that are perceived to be necessary when communicating with that student using a semi-experimental design.

Participants. Three hundred sixty-four American students were recruited from communication courses at the same large midwestern university as Studies 1 and 2. They were offered course credit in exchange for their participation. The average age of the participants was 20.14 years old ($SD = 1.75$), and 60.6% ($N = 210$) of participants were female. Of the students who reported ethnicity, 86.5% were White/Caucasian, 3.0% were African American, 3.6% were Hispanic, 3% were Asian/Pacific Islander, .3% were Native American and 2.7% were biracial/other. These percentages are consistent with the general undergraduate population at this university.

Procedures. First, participants completed measures regarding their cultural experiences and willingness to engage in intercultural communication. Specifically, this portion of the survey covered questions related to demographics (age, year in school, sex, ethnicity/race), quantity of contact with Chinese culture, and intercultural sensitivity (See Appendix C for measurements).

After completing the initial measures, participants were given a brief letter to read from the researchers. The letter stated that the researchers are interested in developing a mentorship program to help Chinese international students adapt to American life. Specifically, the letter explained that the program is designed so that American students will be paired with Chinese students to act as mentors to them and assist them in adapting to American culture. A mentoring

program scenario was utilized because these types of programs have been shown to be beneficial for both individuals adapting to a new culture as well as members of the host culture who serve as mentors (e.g., Yeh, Ching, Okubo, & Luthar, 2007). Thus, it was deemed to be an appropriate context for the goals of this particular project, which sought to better understand American perceptions of communication with a particular group of international students. Participants were informed that one step of the program development process is to ask American students to provide some initial suggestions and tips to a Chinese student.

Next, participants were given a description of a Chinese international student consistent with one of the prototypes uncovered during analysis for Study 2 or a control condition. The control condition described a 19 year-old Chinese student (Xiaoli) from Beijing, China. She had an undecided major, had been in the US for about a year and planned to stay in the US for a total of 4 years. For all conditions, including the control condition, the described Chinese student was female. The gender of the described student was chosen at random and kept consistent for all participants.

Experimental conditions contained the same information as the control condition. In addition, they were provided a few sentences that described Xiaoli according to each of the prototypes. For example, for the Shy/Quiet condition, she was described as following, “Xiaoli is very shy and quiet. She doesn’t have many friends here and often feels awkward when she meets new people. She’s not very social and tends to be a loner.” For the Oblivious/Annoying condition, she was described as following, “Xiaoli comes off as conceited and annoying at times. She and her friends are loud and rarely speak English. She’s often oblivious to what’s going on around her.” For a complete listing of the conditions as presented to participants as well as the letter from the researchers, see Appendix C.

After reading the description of Xiaoli, participants were asked if they read the information about her carefully and to write up a few sentences to describe her. Participants also answered a few questions regarding how similar Xiaoli is to other Chinese students. A sample question includes “From what you know about Chinese students, would you say that this person is similar to other Chinese students?” Next, they were presented with three open-ended prompts to write a message directed to Xiaoli. Specifically, they were asked to introduce themselves, list ideas for what they might do together if they were paired for the mentor program, and provide tips to Xiaoli about how she might best adapt to US culture. These open-ended questions were meant to encourage participants to think specifically about what it might be like to communicate with this particular student (Xiaoli).

Finally, participants completed measures of the outcome variables, including willingness to meet the student, their anxiety about meeting her, the accommodations they perceived to be necessary when communicating with her, and the social attractiveness of the student (see Appendix C for the measures used). The order of presentation of these measurements was randomized so as to account for any influence that response to one measurement would have on later measurements.

Measurements. The following section provides details about the survey measurements that participants completed during Study 3.

Quantity of contact with Chinese international students. Islam and Hewstone (1993) created a measure of intergroup contact to investigate the role of contact on out-group variability and out-group attitude between Muslims and Hindus in Bangladesh. The scale asked participants about the contact they had with members of the out-group (i.e., contact in college, contact as neighbor, frequency of informal talks, etc.). For this study, the scale by Islam and Hewstone

(2001) was modified to measure college students' quantity of contact with Chinese international students. The scale is composed of 11 items on a 7-point likert scale (Cronbach's $\alpha = .77$).

Examples of items include "I have visited China or other East Asian countries" and "I speak to people from China on a regular basis." Negative items were reverse-coded. The 11 quantity items were summed and averaged to create a single quantity of contact score for each participant ($M = 3.28$, $SD = 1.05$).

Intercultural sensitivity. Chen and Starosta (2000) developed a 24-item scale of Intercultural Sensitivity (ISS). The scale is composed of 5-factors measured on a 7-point likert scale. These factors are commonly combined to generate an overall measure of a person's intercultural sensitivity (e.g., Dong, Day, & Collaco, 2008). The first factor, labeled *Interaction Engagement*, contains seven items relevant to participants' feelings of participation in intercultural communication (e.g., "I enjoy interacting with people from different cultures"). The second factor, labeled *Respect for Cultural Differences* contains six items relevant to how tolerant individuals are of another person's culture and opinions (e.g., "I respect the values of people from different cultures"). The third factor, *Interaction Confidence*, describes how confident individuals are in an intercultural setting. This factor includes five items in total (e.g., "I am pretty sure of myself in interacting with people from different cultures.") The fourth factor, *Interaction Enjoyment*, describes the positive or negative reactions individuals have toward communicating interculturally. This factor includes three items (e.g., "I get upset easily when interacting with people from different cultures."). The final factor includes three items and has been named *Interaction Attentiveness*. This factor deals with the amount of effort individuals put into understanding what is going on in an intercultural situation (e.g., "I am very observant when interacting with people from different cultures."). After reverse-coding all negatively worded

items, all 24 items were summed and averaged to provide an overall intercultural sensitivity score, as is typical with this scale (Cronbach's $\alpha = .89$, $M = 4.94$, $SD = .70$).

Anxiety. The level of anxiety that participants anticipated they would experience during an interaction with the described student was measured using the Form State version of the Communication Anxiety Inventory (Booth-Butterfield & Gould, 1986). The Form State is a 20-item measure on a 7-point scale (1 = not at all, 7 = very much so) designed to measure the amount of anxiety experienced during a specific communication encounter. Items were re-worded so that they refer to a hypothetical future interaction. Example items include "I would feel nervous and tense," "I would feel poised and in control while talking," and "I would probably feel awkward while I'm talking to this person." Negatively worded items were reverse coded and all items are summed and averaged to give a single anxiety score (Cronbach's $\alpha = .91$, overall $M = 3.29$, $SD = .84$; See Table 5 for means and standard deviations by condition).

Perceived accommodation. The measure for perceived accommodation was developed through focus group discussions. Eleven international students were asked a series of questions about their perceptions of communication behaviors in the United States, both the adjustments that they feel they make as well as the adjustments they perceive others to make toward them. Seven American students were asked about their interactions with international students and the adjustments they see themselves and international students making in those interactions. Along with previous research and the assumptions of Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles et al., 1991), the findings of these focus groups were used to create a 10-item measure of Perceived Necessary Accommodation on a 7-point agreement scale (Cronbach's $\alpha = .81$). Participants completed the measurement in terms of what accommodations they believe would be necessary if they interacted with Xiaoli. Sample items include "I would speak slower than I normally

would” and “I would be sure to pause and give him/her time to process what I am saying.”

Negatively worded items were reverse coded and all items are summed and averaged to give a single accommodation score (overall $M = 4.69$, $SD = .82$; See Table 5 for means and standard deviations by condition).

Willingness to meet. Participants reported whether or not they were willing to participate in a program to help Chinese students adapt to and meet with Xiaoli in person at a later date (e.g., “I would like to participate in the mentor program” and “I would be willing to meet this person.” Willingness to meet was measured with a three-item 7-point likert scale (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .86$). Items were summed and averaged to give a single willingness to meet score (overall $M = 3.95$, $SD = 1.44$; See Table 5 for means and standard deviations by condition).

Social attractiveness. Participants reported how much they like the described student and how likely they would be to develop a friendship with her by completing the 5-item measure of social attractiveness, one of three dimensions of the Interpersonal Attraction Scale (McCroskey & McCain, 1974). Items were measured on a 7-point agreement scale. Examples of items include “I think she could be a friend of mine” and “I would like to have a friendly chat with her” Negatively worded items were reverse coded and all items are summed and averaged to give a single social attractiveness score (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .82$, overall $M = 4.46$, $SD = 1.10$; See Table 5 for means and standard deviations by condition).

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

This study examined the influence of cultural characteristics (i.e., intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact with Chinese culture) and stereotypes about Chinese international students on anxiety about interacting with a Chinese student, communication accommodations perceived to be necessary when interacting with a Chinese student, willingness to meet a Chinese student, and the social attractiveness of that student. Hypothesis 1 examined the differences in the outcome variables across six stereotype conditions generated from reports from students at a large mid-western university. These stereotype conditions were developed from the results of Research Question 1 and included (1) a control condition, which provided no information concerning the characteristics of a Chinese international student beyond that she came from Beijing and had been in the US for one year and plans to stay in the US for four years, (2) a shy/quiet condition, (3) an oblivious/annoying condition, (4) a nice/friendly condition, (5) a smart/hardworking condition, and (6) a bad at English/not assimilated condition.

Hypothesis 2 examined the relationship between intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact on two of the outcome variables: anxiety and perceived necessary accommodations. Research Question 2 asked whether, for each stereotype condition, anxiety would predict the final two outcome variables (i.e., willingness to meet and social attractiveness) when the preexisting cultural characteristics were controlled. Finally, Research Question 3 probed the influence of necessary accommodation on willingness to meet and social attractiveness when preexisting cultural characteristics were controlled for each stereotype condition.

Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1 proposed that levels of the outcome variables (willingness to meet a Chinese international student and perceived social attractiveness of that student) would vary according to the stereotype condition that participants were given. This hypothesis was partially supported. Correlations among all major variables are listed in Table 4.

Hypothesis 1a stated that anxiety about meeting a particular Chinese student would differ across stereotype conditions. A one-way analysis of variance was conducted to test this hypothesis. The independent variable (stereotype condition) included six conditions, a control condition, shy/quiet condition, oblivious/annoying condition, nice/friendly condition, and bad at English/not assimilated condition. The ANOVA was not significant, $F(5, 334) = 1.65, p > .05, \eta^2 = .02$. Overall, the amount of anxiety that participants felt about interacting with a described Chinese student was low (overall $M = 3.29, SD = .84$), and there was very little variation in the amount of anxiety felt across the different stereotype conditions (See Table 5).

Hypothesis 1b stated that the perceptions of communication accommodations necessary during an interaction with a described Chinese student would differ across stereotype conditions. A one-way analysis of variance to test this hypothesis was not significant, $F(5, 351) = 1.05, p > .05, \eta^2 = .02$. Overall, participants did not vary greatly in their perceptions of accommodations that would be necessary when interacting with a described Chinese student, regardless of the way that student was described (See Table 5).

Table 4

Summary of intercorrelations for all major variables by condition.

Control						
Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6
. Intercultural Sens.	--	.43**	-.20	.61**	.54**	.49**
. Quantity of Contact	--	--	-.13	.31*	.38**	-.06
. Anxiety	--	--	--	-.48**	-.61**	.12
. Willingness to Meet	--	--	--	--	.75**	.07
. Social Attractiveness	--	--	--	--	--	-.00
. Accommodation	--	--	--	--	--	--
Shy/Quiet						
Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6
. Intercultural Sens.	--	.43**	-.63**	.51**	.55**	.28*
. Quantity of Contact	--	--	-.29*	.54**	.38**	-.06
. Anxiety	--	--	--	-.46**	-.61**	.12
. Willingness to Meet	--	--	--	--	.75**	.07
. Social Attractiveness	--	--	--	--	--	-.00
. Accommodation	--	--	--	--	--	--
Loud/Annoying						
Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6
. Intercultural Sens.	--	.21	-.49**	.39**	.49**	.06
. Quantity of Contact	--	--	.03	.32*	.54**	-.18
. Anxiety	--	--	--	-.48**	-.55**	-.03
. Willingness to Meet	--	--	--	--	.67**	.04
. Social Attractiveness	--	--	--	--	--	-.04
. Accommodation	--	--	--	--	--	--
Nice/Friendly						
Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6
. Intercultural Sens.	--	.52**	-.63**	.60**	.63**	-.10
. Quantity of Contact	--	--	-.37**	.50**	.53**	-.19
. Anxiety	--	--	--	-.69**	-.59**	.25
. Willingness to Meet	--	--	--	--	.75**	-.28
. Social Attractiveness	--	--	--	--	--	-.16
. Accommodation	--	--	--	--	--	--
Smart/Hardworking						
Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6
. Intercultural Sens.	--	.21	-.25	.30*	.36**	.20
. Quantity of Contact	--	--	-.11	.05	.45**	-.14
. Anxiety	--	--	--	-.25*	-.43**	.21
. Willingness to Meet	--	--	--	--	.62**	-.11
. Social Attractiveness	--	--	--	--	--	-.12
. Accommodation	--	--	--	--	--	--
Bad at English/Not Assimilated						
Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6
. Intercultural Sens.	--	.37**	-.51**	-.53**	.54**	.31*
. Quantity of Contact	--	--	.11	.05	.45**	-.14
. Anxiety	--	--	--	-.25*	-.43**	.21
. Willingness to Meet	--	--	--	--	.74**	.17
. Social Attractiveness	--	--	--	--	--	.07
. Accommodation	--	--	--	--	--	--

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Hypothesis 1c stated that willingness to meet a particular Chinese student would differ across stereotype conditions. A one-way analysis of variance was conducted to test this hypothesis. The ANOVA was significant, $F(5, 357) = 4.68, p < .01, \eta^2 = .06$. Willingness to meet a described Chinese international student varied across conditions. Post hoc tests using Tukey's HSD found that individuals receiving the oblivious/annoying condition ($M = 3.34, SD = 1.40$) were significantly less willing to communicate with the described student than those who received the shy/quiet condition ($M = 4.14, SD = 1.45, p < .05$), nice/friendly condition ($M = 4.53, SD = 1.35, p < .01$), and bad at English/not assimilated condition ($M = 4.03, SD = 1.40, p = .052$). None of the other conditions significantly differed from one another. See Table 5 for means and standard deviations of willingness to meet for all conditions.

Table 5

Means and Standard Deviations of Outcome Variables Across Stereotype Condition

Stereotype Condition	Anxiety		Willingness to Meet		Typicality		Social Attractiveness		Accommodation	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Control	3.35	.92	3.76	4.58	4.87	1.19	4.39	1.11	4.69	.78
Shy/Quiet	3.09	.90	4.14 _a	1.45	4.45 _b	1.15	4.47	1.26	4.55	1.07
Nice/Friendly	3.21	.88	4.53 _a	1.35	4.78	.91	4.72	1.08	4.71	.62
Oblivious/Annoying	3.49	.83	3.34 _b	1.40	4.64	1.22	4.17	1.11	4.78	.79
Smart/Hardworking	3.34	.74	3.34	1.28	5.10 _a	1.10	4.51	1.01	4.58	.84
Bad at English/Not Assimilated	3.25	.73	4.03	1.40	5.03 _a	1.04	4.51	.98	4.81	.76
Overall	3.29	.84	3.95	1.44	4.81	1.12	4.46	1.10	4.69	.82

Note: Means in the same column that do not share subscripts differ at $p < .05$ by Tukey's HSD

Hypothesis 1d proposed that perceptions of the social attractiveness of a described Chinese international student would vary by condition. A one-way analysis of variance was conducted to test this hypothesis. The test was not significant, $F(5, 354) = 1.64, p > .05, \eta^2 = .02$. Thus, Hypothesis 1d was not supported. See Table 5 for means and standard deviations of social attractiveness for all conditions.

Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2 stated that the preexisting variables of intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact with Chinese culture would predict the level of anxiety participants felt about interacting with a particular Chinese student (H2a) and the accommodations they perceived to be necessary during that interaction (H2b).

To test H2a, a multiple regression analysis with the data file split by condition was conducted to predict the combined influence of intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact with Chinese culture on the anxiety that participants expected to feel during an interaction with the described Chinese student. This hypothesis was partially supported.

The linear combination of the predictor variables was significantly related to anxiety for the shy/quiet, oblivious/annoying, nice/friendly, and bad at English/not assimilated conditions. Specifically, intercultural sensitivity contributed significantly to the relationship in these conditions, but quantity of contact did not. Regression analyses were not significant for the control or smart/hardworking conditions. See Table 6 for a summary of the regression analyses.

Next, to test Hypothesis 2b, a multiple regression analysis with the data file split by condition was conducted examining the combined influence of intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact with Chinese culture on perceived necessary accommodations with a particular Chinese international student. This hypothesis was partially supported. Specifically, the analysis was significant for the control condition ($R^2 = .29, F(2, 43) = 8.63, p < .01$) and bad English/not assimilated condition ($R^2 = .10, F(2, 59) = 3.39, p < .05$), and it neared significance for the shy/quiet condition ($R^2 = .10, F(2, 53) = 3.02, p = .057$). For all significant conditions, intercultural sensitivity was the only significant contributor to the regression model. See Table 7 for a summary of the regression analyses.

Table 6

Summary of Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting Anxiety by Condition.

	Stereotype Condition					
	Control	Shy/Quiet	Oblivious/ Annoying	Nice/Friendly	Smart/ Hardworking	Bad at English/ Not Assimilated
Predictor	β	β	β	β	β	β
IC Sens.	-.21	-.63**	-.52**	-.56**	-.26	-.58**
Quant. Con.	.01	.01	.12	-.12	-.07	.12
Total R^2	.04	.40**	.25**	.41**	.28	.30**
n	45	57	56	47	51	56

Note: ** $p < .01$

Table 7

Summary of Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting Perceived Necessary Accommodations by Condition

	Stereotype Condition					
	Control	Shy/Quiet	Oblivious/ Annoying	Nice/Friendly	Smart/ Hardworking	Bad at English/ Not Assimilated
Predictor	β	β	β	β	β	β
IC Sens.	.58*	.35*	.11	.22	.22	.26**
Quant. Con.	-.25	-.16	-.23	-.24	-.20	.11
Total R^2	.29**	.32 ^o	.23	.23	.26	.32*
n	46	56	58	46	55	62

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, ^o $p = .057$

Research Question 2

Research Question 2a asked whether anxiety would predict willingness to meet a particular Chinese student when intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact with Chinese culture were controlled. It was found that anxiety predicted willingness to meet for some stereotype conditions, but not all. First, hierarchical multiple regression with the data file split by condition was employed to examine the influence of anxiety on willingness to meet when the

variance contributed by intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact with Chinese culture was controlled for each stereotype condition. Intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact were entered in the first block of variables for the analyses. Anxiety was entered in the second block. For all stereotype conditions, the overall regression models were significant. That is, intercultural sensitivity, quantity of contact with Chinese culture, and anxiety, combined, significantly predicted willingness to meet a particular Chinese international student for all conditions (See Table 8 for overall model summaries for all conditions). However, anxiety was a significant contributor to the model for only the control, oblivious/annoying, and nice/friendly conditions. For the shy/quiet, smart/hardworking, and bad at English/not assimilated conditions, the preexisting characteristics of intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact with Chinese culture were the only significant contributors to the regression model (See Table 8).

Table 8

Model Summary of Multiple Regression Analyses for Preexisting Characteristics and Anxiety Predicting Willingness to Meet

Predictor	Stereotype Condition											
	Control		Shy/Quiet		Oblivious/ Annoying		Nice/Friendly		Smart/ Hardworking		Bad at English/ Not Assimilated	
	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β
Step 1	.38**		.40**		.20**		.44**		.15*		.30**	
IC Sens.		.60**		.34**		.31*		.39**		.23		.58**
Quant. Con.		.04		.40**		.26*		.36**		.28*		-.18
Step 2	.11*		.01		.11*		.15**		.00		.00	
Anxiety		-.35**		-.14		-.37**		-.50**		-.06		.00
Total R^2	.49**		.41**		.31**		.58**		.16*		.30**	
<i>n</i>	43		56		52		43		47		52	

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

As expected, anxiety was a significant factor in only some of the conditions. In particular, for those in the control condition, participants received minimal information about a Chinese international student, and they seem to have referred to the level of anxiety they felt about

interacting with that student in determining their level of willingness to meet that student. The same is true of the nice/friendly condition and the oblivious/annoying condition. However, for those participants who received descriptions of a Chinese international student who possessed the most common stereotype traits about Chinese international students (i.e., shy/quiet, smart/hardworking, bad at English/not assimilated), the level of anxiety they felt did not influence their willingness to meet that Chinese student.

In particular, I was interested in understanding how these conditions truly differed in terms of the role that anxiety plays in determining willingness to meet a Chinese student. And in particular, I was interested in examining how the control condition (which essentially contained no stereotype-relevant information) differed from conditions designed to activate a particular stereotype about Chinese international students (as collected from American students from the same university). To compare the influence of anxiety on willingness to meet a Chinese student, when preexisting cultural characteristics (i.e., intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact with Chinese culture) are controlled, a series of moderation analyses were conducted using anxiety as the focal predictor and condition as the moderating variable.

Hayes and Matthes's (2009) MODPROBE syntax for SPSS was used to assess whether stereotype condition and anxiety interact in affecting participants' willingness to meet a particular Chinese international student. As the focus of the current study was to better understand how stereotypes about Chinese international students influence American student perceptions, each of the experimental conditions were compared to the control condition, where participants received no stereotype-specific information. Willingness to meet was entered as the dependent variable, anxiety as the focal predictor, condition as the moderator, and intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact as statistical controls.

From these analyses, significant interactions were found when comparing the control condition to the shy/quiet (Figure 1: ΔR^2 due to interaction = .02, $F(5, 95) = 3.79$, $p = .055$), smart/hardworking (Figure 2: ΔR^2 due to interaction = .03, $F(5, 89) = 4.51$, $p < .05$), and bad at English/not assimilated conditions (Figure 3: ΔR^2 due to interaction = .03, $F(5, 94) = 4.38$, $p < .05$). Specifically, for each of these analyses, the control condition was significant, but the stereotype condition was not. There were no significant interactions for the oblivious/annoying (Figure 4) or nice/friendly conditions (Figure 5).

Figure 1
Influence of Anxiety on Willingness to Meet When Preexisting Characteristics are Controlled: Control versus Shy/Quiet Conditions.

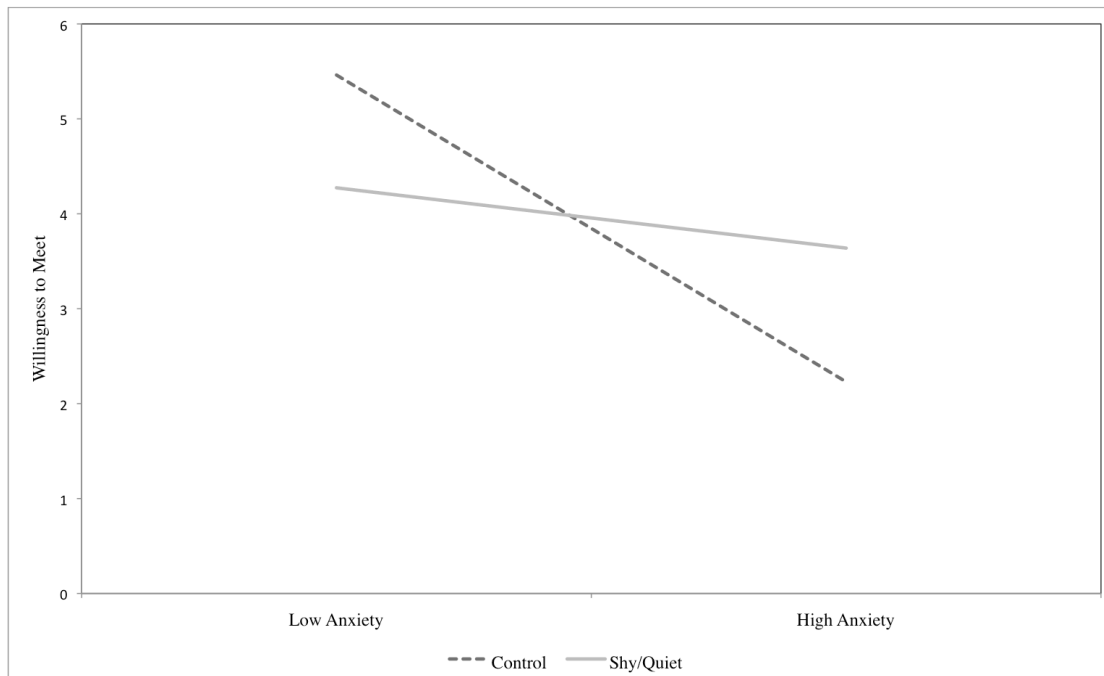


Figure 2

Influence of Anxiety on Willingness to Meet When Preexisting Characteristics are Controlled: Control versus Smart/Hardworking Conditions.

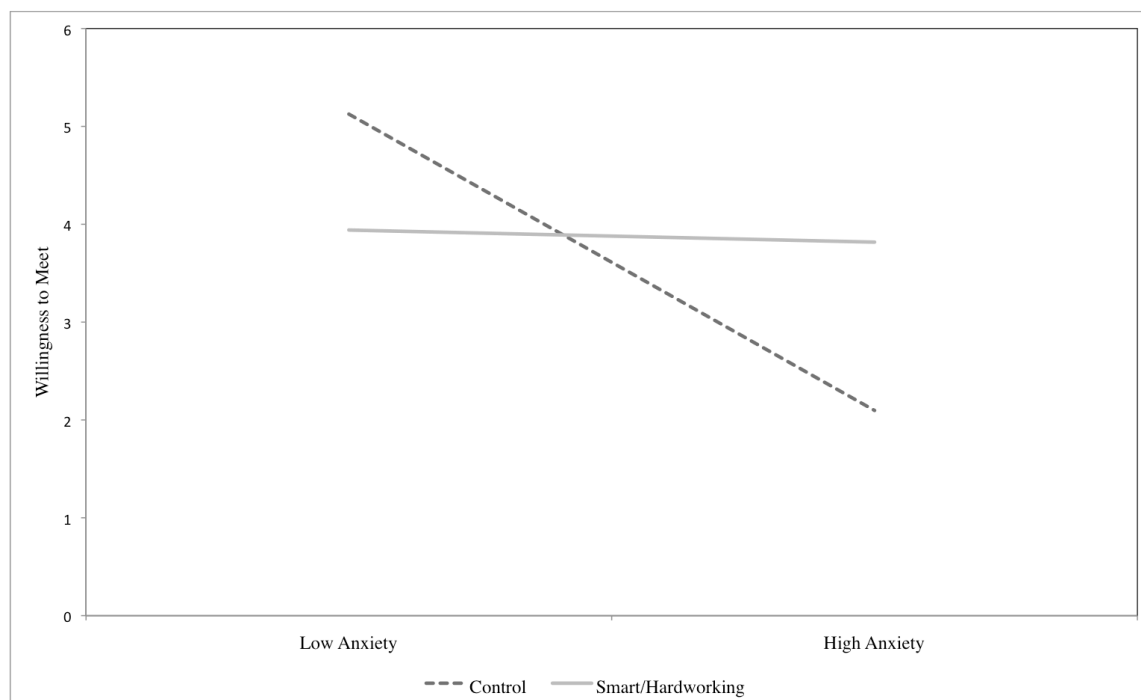


Figure 3

Influence of Anxiety on Willingness to Meet When Preexisting Characteristics are Controlled: Control versus Bad English/Not Assimilated Conditions.

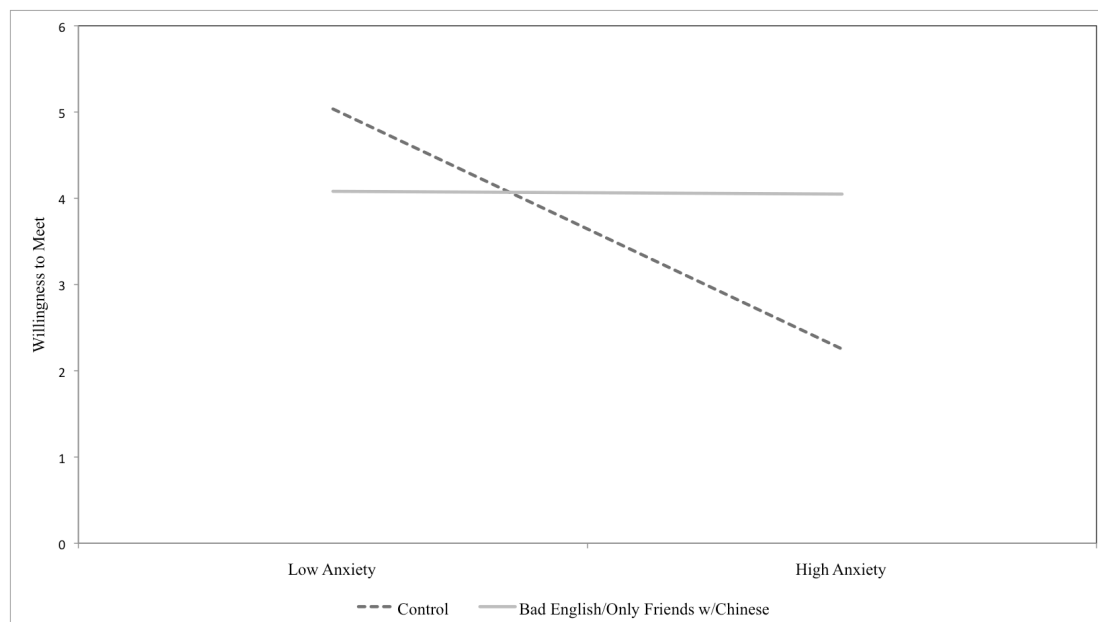


Figure 4

Influence of Anxiety on Willingness to Meet When Preexisting Characteristics are Controlled: Control versus Oblivious/Annoying Conditions.

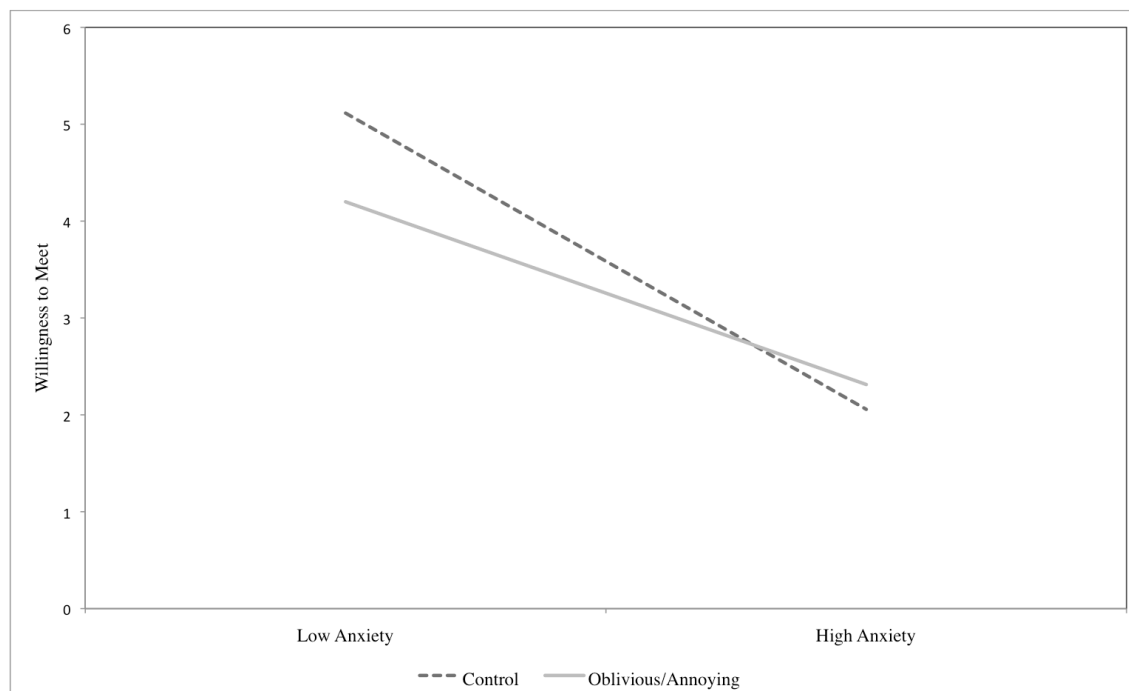
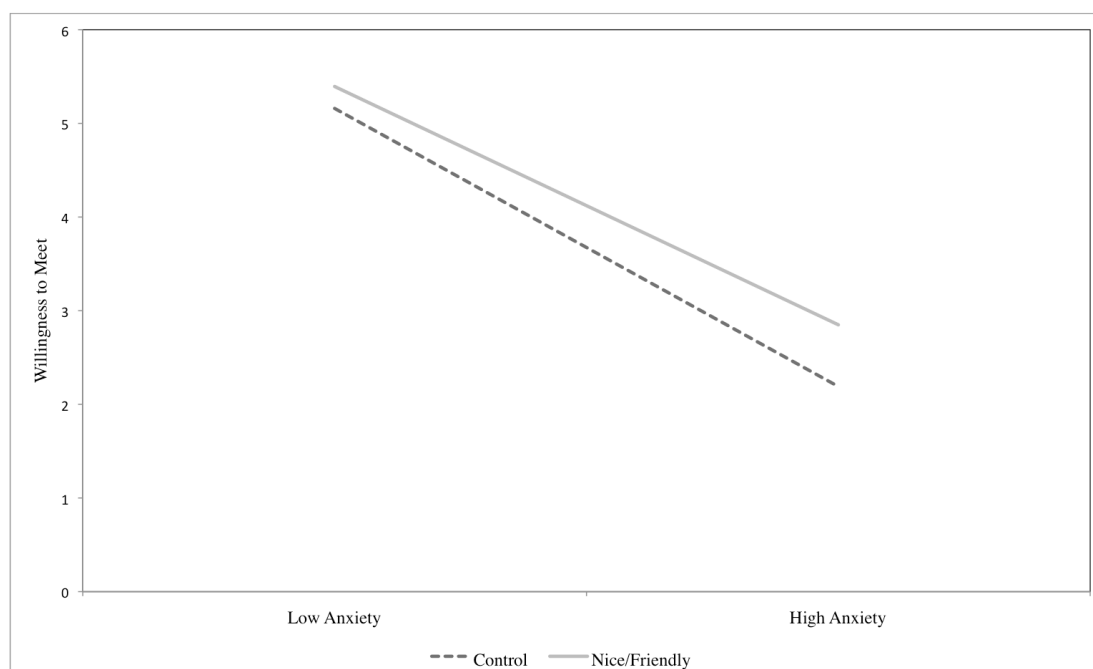


Figure 5

Influence of Anxiety on Willingness to Meet When Preexisting Characteristics are Controlled: Control versus Nice/Friendly Conditions.



Research Question 2b asked whether, when intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact with Chinese culture were controlled, anxiety would predict perceptions of a Chinese student's social attractiveness. Anxiety predicted social attractiveness for all but one condition. First, hierarchical multiple regression with the data file split by condition was employed to examine the influence of anxiety on social attractiveness when the variance contributed by intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact with Chinese culture was controlled for each stereotype condition. Intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact were entered in the first block of variables for the analyses. Anxiety was entered in the second block. For all stereotype conditions, the overall regression models were significant. That is, intercultural sensitivity, quantity of contact with Chinese culture, and anxiety, combined, significantly predicted perceptions of a Chinese student's social attractiveness for all conditions (See Table 9 for overall model summaries for all conditions). For all but one of the conditions, anxiety significantly predicted social attractiveness. For the bad at English/not assimilated condition, intercultural sensitivity was the only significant contributors to the regression model (See Table 9).

Moderation analyses via Hayes and Mattes's (2009) MODPROBE syntax were again used to compare the control condition with each individual stereotype condition to determine whether stereotype condition and anxiety interact in affecting participants' perceptions of a Chinese student's social attractiveness. Social attractiveness was entered as the dependent variable, anxiety as the focal predictor, condition as the moderator, and intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact as statistical controls.

Table 9

Model Summary of Multiple Regression Analyses for Preexisting Characteristics and Anxiety Predicting Social Attractiveness.

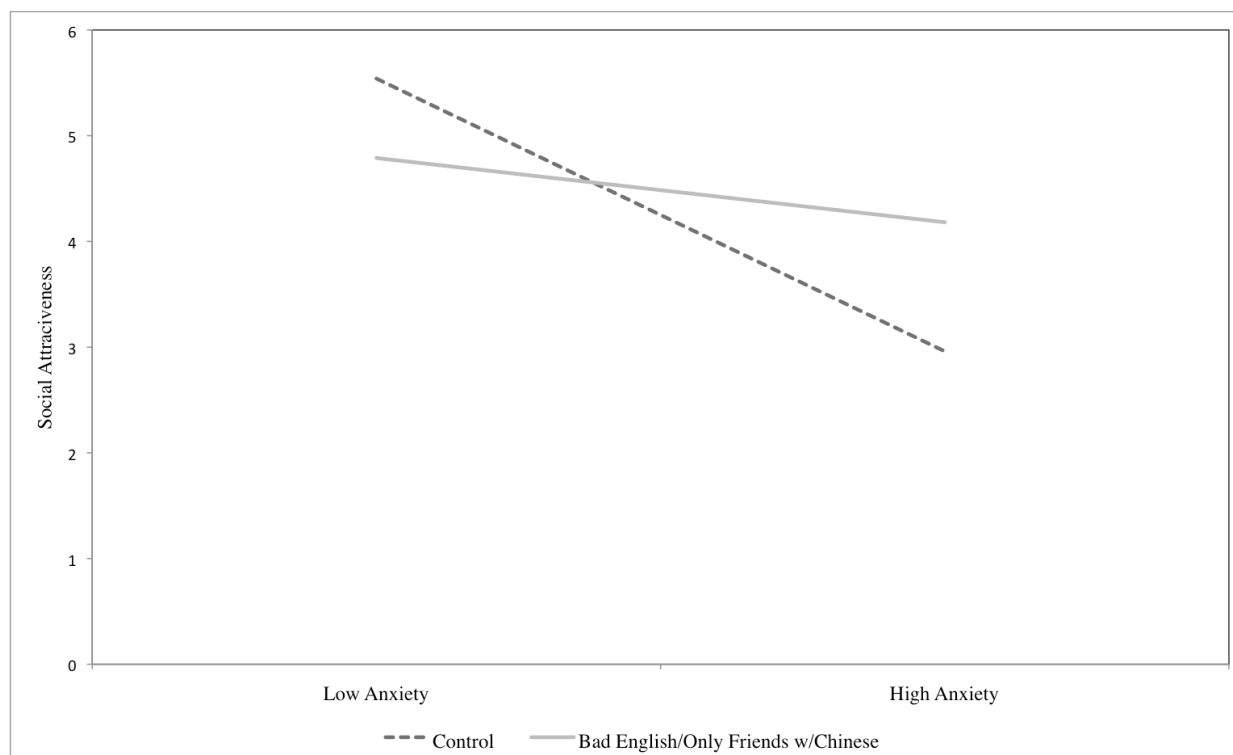
Predictor	Stereotype Condition											
	Control		Shy/Quiet		Oblivious/ Annoying		Nice/Friendly		Smart/ Hardworking		Bad at English/ Not Assimilated	
	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β
Step 1	.31**		.37**		.43**		.46**		.22**		.30**	
IC Sens.		.48**		.41**		.41**		.43**		.24		.55**
Quant. Con.		.15		.31*		.43**		.34*		.37**		-.01
Step 2	.22**		.14**		.15**		.07*		.08*		.00	
Anxiety		-.48**		-.48**		-.45**		-.34*		-.30*		-.07
Total R^2	.53**		.51**		.58**		.53**		.31**		.30**	
n	44		56		54		46		50		53	

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

From these analyses, significant interactions were found when comparing the control condition to the bad at English/not assimilated condition (Figure 6: ΔR^2 due to interaction = .03, $F(5, 93) = 4.69$, $p < .05$). Specifically, the control condition was significant, but the bad English/not assimilated condition was not. There were no significant interactions for the remaining conditions. Both the control condition and the remaining stereotype conditions (i.e., shy/quiet, oblivious/annoying, nice/friendly, and smart/hardworking) saw anxiety significantly predict social attractiveness when intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact were controlled.

Figure 6

Influence of Anxiety Social Attractiveness When Preexisting Characteristics are Controlled: Control versus Bad English/Not Assimilated Conditions.



Research Question 3

Research Question 3a asked whether, when intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact with Chinese culture were controlled, perceived necessary accommodations would predict willingness to meet a particular Chinese student. This was not the case for any of the conditions. Hierarchical multiple regression with the data file split by condition was employed to examine the influence of accommodation on willingness to meet when the variance contributed by intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact with Chinese culture was controlled for each stereotype condition. Intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact were entered in the first block of variables for the analyses. Accommodation was entered in the second block. For all stereotype conditions, the overall regression models were significant. That is, intercultural

sensitivity, quantity of contact with Chinese culture, and accommodation, combined, significantly predicted willingness to meet a particular Chinese international student for all conditions (See Table 10 for overall model summaries for all conditions). However, accommodation was not significant contributor to the model for any of the stereotype conditions (See Table 10). As a result, moderation analyses were not conducted for this hypothesis.

Research Question 3b asked whether, when intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact with Chinese culture were controlled, perceived necessary accommodations would predict perceptions of the social attractiveness of a particular Chinese student for some stereotype conditions, but not all. Necessary accommodation was a significant predictor for social attractiveness for only one condition.

Table 10

Model Summary of Multiple Regression Analyses for Preexisting Characteristics and Accommodation Predicting Willingness to Meet.

Predictor	Stereotype Condition											
	Control		Shy/Quiet		Oblivious/ Annoying		Nice/Friendly		Smart/ Hardworking		Bad at English/ Not Assimilated	
	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β
Step 1	.38**		.39**		.20**		.43**		.17**		.34**	
IC Sens.		.72**		.31*		.35**		.46**		.24		.63**
Quant. Con.		.00		.43**		.22		.29*		.29**		-.21
Step 2	.03		.01		.00		.03		.01		.00	
Accommodation		-.21		-.09		.03		-.17		-.10		-.06
Total R^2	.41**		.40**		.20**		.46**		.18*		.34**	
n	44		55		57		45		54		61	

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Hierarchical multiple regression with the data file split by condition was employed to examine the influence of accommodation on social attractiveness when the variance contributed by intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact with Chinese culture was controlled for each

stereotype condition. Intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact were entered in the first block of variables for the analyses. Accommodation was entered in the second block. For all stereotype conditions, the overall regression models were significant. That is, intercultural sensitivity, quantity of contact with Chinese culture, and accommodation, combined, significantly predicted the social attractiveness of a particular Chinese international student for all conditions (See Table 11 for overall model summaries for all conditions). However, accommodation was a significant contributor to the model for only the shy/quiet condition (See Table 11).

Table 11

Model Summary of Multiple Regression Analyses for Preexisting Characteristics and Accommodation Predicting Social Attractiveness.

Predictor	Stereotype Condition											
	Control		Shy/Quiet		Oblivious/ Annoying		Nice/Friendly		Smart/ Hardworking		Bad at English/ Not Assimilated	
	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β
Step 1	.30**		.36**		.42**		.45**		.24**		.32**	
IC Sens.		.47**		.39**		.40**		.50**		.24		.58**
Quant. Con.		.15		.32*		.44**		.26*		.38**		-.05
Step 2	.04		.09**		.00		.00		.01		.02	
Accommodation		-.24		-.32**		-.02		-.06		-.12		-.14
Total R^2	.34**		.45**		.42**		.46**		.26**		.34**	
n	45		55		56		45		54		59	

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Moderation analyses via Hayes and Matthes's (2009) MODPROBE syntax were again used to compare the control condition with each individual stereotype condition to determine whether stereotype condition and accommodation interact in affecting participants' perceptions of a Chinese student's social attractiveness. Social attractiveness was entered as the dependent

variable, accommodation as the focal predictor, condition as the moderator, and intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact as statistical controls. None of these analyses were significant.

Summary of Results

Unexpectedly, there were very few differences in the outcome variables across the stereotype conditions. In fact, only one condition (oblivious/annoying) was significantly different from some of the others (i.e., the nice/friendly, shy/quiet, and bad at English/not assimilated conditions). One might presume, then, that the manipulation was not successful in terms of influencing the outcome variables. In many ways, it was not. Participants tended to respond in similar ways to the amount of anxiety that would be felt with, accommodations that would need to be made for, and social attractiveness of a Chinese international student, even though the stereotype conditions ranged from very positive (i.e., the nice/friendly condition) to very negative (i.e., the oblivious/annoying condition).

In looking at additional relationships, in particular the ways that preexisting cultural characteristics, stereotypes, anxiety, and communication accommodation work together to predict a person's willingness to interact and perceptions of social attractiveness there is additional information that can be learned. In particular, intercultural sensitivity is clearly an important factor when considering a person's anxiety about interacting with someone from China, make adjustments as necessary to his or her communication behaviors, willingness to engage in an intercultural interaction with a Chinese student, and his/her perceptions of a Chinese student as someone they could see themselves becoming friends with. In some cases, the amount of contact that participants had with Chinese culture also played an important role.

When these cultural characteristics are controlled, we can start to see how stereotypes come into play. In terms of anxiety, the only time it predicted a person's willingness to meet a

Chinese international student was when that Chinese student was described with very little detail (i.e., the control condition) or with less typical stereotype traits (i.e., friendly/nice and oblivious/annoying conditions). Thus, we may assume that individuals rely more on their levels of anxiety in situations where more is unknown or unexpected than when descriptions are more stereotype-consistent (i.e., shy/quiet, bad at English/not assimilated, and smart/hardworking conditions).

However, this assumption is not completely born out in this project. When participants were asked to rate how similar the described Chinese student was to other Chinese international students, there were significant differences among the conditions. Specifically, an ANOVA ($F(5, 358) = 3.02, p < .05, \eta^2 = .04$) showed that the conditions considered to be most typical were the smart/hardworking ($M = 5.10, SD = 1.10$) and the bad at English/not assimilated ($M = 5.02, SD = 1.04$). The shy/quiet condition was considered by participants to be the least typical ($M = 4.47, SD = 1.15$, See Table 5 for means and standard deviations of typicality for all conditions). Overall, participants considered the described Chinese student to be more typical of other Chinese student than not (Overall $M = 4.81, SD = 1.12$ on a 7-point scale). Possible explanations for these findings are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

The primary goal of this project was to better understand the role that stereotypes play in American student perceptions of communication with Chinese students. The results show that some stereotypes may indeed influence an American student's willingness to interact with a particular Chinese student and perceptions of her social attractiveness through the amount of anxiety that the stereotypes produce and the amount of accommodations perceived to be necessary during an interaction with that Chinese student. Intercultural sensitivity, one way of conceptualizing intercultural communication competence, also appeared to greatly influence many of the American students' perceptions, including the amount of anxiety they felt about interacting with a Chinese student, the accommodations they viewed as necessary, and their willingness to engage in communication with a particular Chinese student. The following chapter summarizes the primary results of this project, explains some of the major contributions to theory and practice, notes limitations to the study design, and suggests directions for future research.

Chinese Stereotypes

The first goal of the project was to explore the stereotypes that American students have about a particular group of Asians in the United States, that of Chinese international students. Five stereotypes emerged to describe the perceptions that American students have about Chinese international students. For the most part, they are consistent with previous research on stereotypes of Asians and Asian Americans more generally. However, some unique profiles emerged for this particular group.

Notably, some common stereotypes uncovered in previous research are absent from this

project. These include stereotypes of Asians (or Chinese more specifically) as cunning, sly, deceitful, obedient, non-athletic, loyal to family ties, and ambitious (e.g., Grant & Holmes, 1981; Ho & Jackson, 2001). Many of these stereotypes have been gleaned through media portrayals (Lee & Joo, 2005; Park et. al, 2006) and studies concerning perceptions of Asian immigrants and Asian Americans rather than international students. It appears that although some stereotypes are common for Asians as a general category, American students may perceive Chinese international students as possessing specific traits that distinguish them from other Asians.

The first group of stereotypes (or prototypes) that American students reported about Chinese international students and attributed to the highest percentage of Chinese students is that of a person who is smart, good at math and science, intelligent, studious, different, and hardworking. Overall, the traits that make up the smart/hardworking prototype were considered to be positive/favorable by the American students and were attributed to nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of all Chinese students. The smart/hardworking stereotype is a very common stereotype of Chinese and Asians more generally and is consistent with the “Model Minority” stereotype often attributed to Asians (e.g., Ho & Jackson, 2001; Lee & Joo, 2005; Zhang, Q., 2010). It is not surprising that this stereotype emerged from this particular population, especially in an academic setting such as university. These traits are especially relevant in this context. Overall, participants perceived smart/hardworking traits to be positive. However, some participants did indicate that the characteristics could be threatening to them by stating that Chinese are “too smart” or “too intelligent.” This same pattern was noted by Ho and Jackson (2001) and fits the assumptions of Fiske et al.’s (2001) stereotype content model, which proposes that groups who are seen as competent but cold often generate feelings of fear or envy.

The model minority stereotype can have both positive and negative outcomes for Chinese

students. In an academic context, instructors and fellow students may perceive Chinese students positively because they have high expectations for them based on their stereotypes. Asian students themselves often rely on these stereotypes about their ingroup, leading them to feel better prepared for college, more motivated to succeed, and capable of higher levels of career success than White students (Wong et al., 1998). These expectations, however, can be damaging to Chinese students' psychological well-being. If Chinese students recognize that others have high expectations for them and have high expectations for themselves and they feel unable to meet those expectations, they may experience a high degree of stress and reduced self-esteem (Suzuki, 2002). Thus, Suzuki argues that academic institutions have an obligation to provide Asian students with support resources and to educate support providers on the unique needs of Asian students and the potential damaging effects of the model minority stereotype.

The second prototype that American students reported about and attributed to more than half of Chinese international students was that of a student who is kind, friendly, nice, polite, and funny. Overall, these traits were considered to be very favorable to the American students. The nice/friendly stereotype is an uncommon one in stereotype research and actually is in contrast to much research concerning Asians generally that shows that individuals tend to view Asians as cold and distant (Fiske et al., 2002). There could be several reasons that this particular stereotype emerged for Chinese international students. The first possible reason is that because participants were asked to think of Chinese students on their university campus, they referred to actual positive experiences that they have had with Chinese students, rather than relying solely on stereotypes they have seen in media or other sources. The second possible reason is that participants, due to the social desirability bias that can be present in self-report data, wished to not come across as prejudiced or reliant on stereotypes. Accordingly, they included some

positive traits in their list of descriptors (from Study 1) of Chinese international students that could apply to any group of people in addition to the more common stereotypes that tend to be more specific to perceptions of Asians. During Study 2, participants were asked to rate the percentage of Chinese students who possessed each trait. The percentages for all traits included in this stereotype except “funny” were, on average, over 50%. That is, American students reported that more than half of Chinese students are nice, friendly, etc. This is an overall positive finding. If American students view Chinese students positively, they may be more likely to interact with them. However, this is not necessarily the case, as described later in the discussion.

The third prototype that American students attributed to more than half of Chinese students is that of a student who is bad at speaking English, only friends with other Chinese students, not well assimilated to US culture, and socially awkward. These traits were considered to be unfavorable overall and are consistent with previous research about both Asians (Ho & Jackson, 2001) and international students/immigrants generally (Stephan et al., 1999). Essentially, the bad at English/not assimilated stereotype describes American students’ perception of Chinese students as separate from and perhaps uninterested in becoming part of US culture. Although these traits were considered to be unfavorable on the part of American students, it is possible that this stereotype may actually mitigate some of the negative attitudes that Americans might otherwise feel toward Chinese students. Specifically, Molinsky and Perunovic (2008) noted that American students who viewed a video of a non-native speaker with low fluency behaving in a culturally inappropriate manner rated the speaker more positively than if the speaker had high fluency. That is, when one observes someone who is obviously new to the culture and not well-adapted, one may be more likely to be less judgmental of him/her. This may lead American students who see Chinese students on campus as socially awkward, incompetent

in English, or hesitant to develop relationships with Americans to feel empathetic toward the Chinese student situation rather than responding with resentment or other negative emotions. Participants' open-ended responses to requests to describe a Chinese student who possessed these traits in Study 3 show some very positive evaluations of the student. For example, several participants noted that the student was very "brave" to travel so far for school, that it would be "tough to break through such a language barrier," and that they would be likely to respond similarly if they were to study in China.

The fourth prototype attributed by American students to Chinese students is that of student who is quiet, shy, a loner, and not very social. The American students attributed this stereotype to just less than one half of all Chinese students. They rated the traits that make up the shy/quiet stereotype as relatively neutral. It is a fairly common stereotype of Asians generally, according to previous research (Ho & Jackson, 2001). Interestingly, many participants in Study 3 who received descriptions of a Chinese student who possessed these characteristics often attributed these traits to the context of being in an unfamiliar place rather than her personality. Participants frequently noted that she was likely shy because of the new environment, but that with time and the help of friendly Americans, she would become more comfortable in the US.

The final prototype of Chinese international students describe a student who is oblivious, loud, intrusive on personal space (such as crowding the sidewalk or cafeteria), conceited, annoying, strange, and never speaks English. The American students attributed these traits to about one-third of all Chinese students and considered them to be very unfavorable traits for a person to possess. The oblivious/annoying stereotype is relatively uncommon in previous research on Asian stereotypes but may reflect the negative attitudes that American students have about Chinese students as outsiders who don't care to adapt to US culture. Overall, it would be

expected that participants would respond negatively to a description of a person with these traits, but, for the most part, this was not necessarily the case as the remaining hypotheses and research questions show.

Effect of Stereotype Conditions on Outcome Variables

Hypothesis one proposed that anxiety about interacting with, accommodations perceived to be necessary when communicating with, willingness to meet, and perceptions of the social attractiveness of a Chinese student would vary according to the stereotype condition presented to participants. This hypothesis was supported only for willingness to meet a particular Chinese student. Specifically, those who received a description of a Chinese student who was oblivious, loud, and annoying were significantly less willing to meet her than those who received descriptions of a Chinese student who was shy and quiet, nice and friendly, or incompetent in English and only friends with other Chinese students. There were no differences between the rest of the conditions or between the control condition (where participants received minimal information about the Chinese student) and the rest of the conditions.

This was a surprising finding. It was expected that more positively evaluated stereotypes (such as nice/friendly or smart/hardworking) would lead to less anxiety, different accommodations, more willingness to meet, and higher levels of social attractiveness than more negatively evaluated stereotypes (such as oblivious/annoying or bad at English/not assimilated). With the exception of the oblivious/annoying stereotype, which is clearly negative, on willingness to meet a particular Chinese student, participants responded quite similarly to all of the outcome variables. Thus, it could appear that the experimental manipulation failed. In some ways, it did. However, it is clear from participants' open-ended responses that they did read, understand, and remember the description provided to them about the Chinese student. At the

same time, some interesting conclusions can be drawn from these results.

In particular, these results could be explained using the Implicit Personality Theory (I.P.T., Schneider, 1973). This theory proposes that individuals possess schemas, made up of clusters of traits, which combined become exemplars of different personality traits. When a person is exposed to one trait in a schema, the other traits become activated as well. This also translates to stereotyping. Stereotypes are composed of a series of traits, and if an observer sees one of those stereotype traits in a person from another group, it is likely that he or she will also assume that the other traits that make up that stereotype will also apply to that group member.

Grant and Holmes (1981) used the assumptions of I.P.T. to test Canadian students' perceptions of Chinese individuals. First, they identified two primary schemas that Canadian students have to describe Chinese students. The first contained traits such as intelligent, scientific, and ambitious. The second included traits such as honest, courteous, and reserved. Ninety-five female students were presented with a description of a Chinese individual who was scientific and ambitious (stereotype consistent) versus happy-go-lucky and talkative (stereotype inconsistent). When presented with stereotype consistent information from the first schema, participants were more likely to attribute other stereotype consistent traits from the second schema (i.e., honest, courteous, and reserved) to the described Chinese individual.

The same sort of processing may have happened with this project, as well. It is possible that American participants did not limit their perceptions of the Chinese student solely to the traits they were given in their assigned condition. Instead, simply asking participants to imagine that they may interact with a Chinese student may have activated their other existing stereotypes about Chinese international students. In that way, a participant who received a description of a Chinese student who was nice and friendly may have recognized that her group membership fit

the category of Chinese and therefore assigned additional expectations about her, such as that she would be smart or shy if those expectations formed part of their stereotype about Chinese international students. Or, as another example, if participants received the obnoxious/annoying condition, they may have also considered traits from other conditions if those traits form part of their same schemas for Chinese international students (such as smart/hardworking). Thus, to simply examine the direct influence of the stereotype content presented to participants by comparing means of outcome variables for this project is not complex enough to truly understand how information provided to individuals that matches particular stereotypes that those individuals might have about members of particular groups will influence a person's anxiety, accommodations, willingness to meet, or perceptions of social attractiveness of a Chinese individual.

Hypothesis two predicted that intercultural sensitivity and contact with Chinese culture would negatively predict the amount of anxiety participants felt about interacting with a described Chinese student and positively predict the accommodations seen as necessary during that interaction. Overall, intercultural sensitivity was the only significant predictor of anxiety, and this prediction was significant for all conditions except for the control condition and the smart/hardworking condition. Quantity of contact with Chinese culture did not influence anxiety to a significant degree for any condition. Intercultural sensitivity (but not contact with Chinese culture) positively predicted the amount of accommodation for only the control, bad at English/not assimilated, and shy/quiet conditions. Thus, hypothesis two was partially supported.

Intercultural sensitivity was, overall, the best predictor of anxiety and accommodation. However, it did not appear to play a significant role in every condition. For anxiety, intercultural sensitivity had no effect for the control or the smart/hardworking conditions. This finding is not

quite clear. For the control condition, participants received very little information about the Chinese student. For the smart/hardworking condition, participants received information about the Chinese student that was consistent with the most common stereotype for Asians. Thus, intercultural sensitivity did not predict anxiety when participants received the least amount of stereotype-consistent information and, arguably, the most. Perhaps, for those who received the control condition, there was not enough information available for participants to refer to for their intercultural sensitivity to influence their anxiety. For the smart/hardworking condition, as well, it is possible that the stereotype was strong enough that intercultural sensitivity was not important for determining the amount of anxiety that participants felt when thinking about interacting with a described Chinese student.

For accommodation, intercultural sensitivity only predicted the control, bad at English/not assimilated, and shy/quiet conditions. In particular, higher levels of intercultural sensitivity lead to more accommodations being seen as necessary for these conditions. For the control condition, participants may have referred to their stereotypes about and experiences with international students who speak English as a second language and chose to err on the side of caution in terms of accommodating as much as possible to the Chinese student. For the bad at English/not assimilated and the shy/quiet conditions, participants received information indicating that the described Chinese student would likely need accommodations for a conversation to move smoothly. Those higher in intercultural sensitivity seemed to pay more attention to that information and recognize the need to adapt their communication more than those low in intercultural sensitivity. This finding is consistent with the concept of intercultural sensitivity, which assumes that individuals higher in intercultural sensitivity are more observant and empathetic during intercultural interactions (Bennett, 1986).

Unexpectedly, contact with Chinese culture did not appear to have an effect on anxiety or accommodation. This finding is especially surprising for anxiety, as previous research has well-established that positive contact with another culture reduces anxiety about future interactions with members of that cultural group (e.g., Pettigrew, 1998; Spencer-Rodgers & McGovern, 2002; Stephan, 1985). One potential reason for the lack of significance is that contact was measured primarily by the quantity of contact that American students had with Chinese culture. The *quality* of that contact was not measured. When contact is positive, anxiety is usually reduced, but when contact is negative, anxiety can actually increase. American students, overall, had relatively low levels of contact with Chinese culture. It is possible that some of the contact that Americans did experience was not entirely positive, such as interactions with Chinese instructors. Contact with international instructors can be a source of frustration for students when there is a real or perceived language barrier (e.g., Rubin, Ainsworth, Cho, Turk, & Winn, 1999) . Thus, in some cases, contact with Chinese culture may have reduced participants' anxiety, and in other cases, it may have increased it, leading to a confounding influence of contact on anxiety.

A similar phenomena may have occurred with accommodation. If American students have contact with Chinese culture where they have had to accommodate in the past, they may be more likely to feel the need to accommodate in the future. If, on the other hand, most of their contact has been with Chinese individuals who speak English well and there has been little need to accommodate, then it would be less likely that they would feel the need to accommodate with the described student as well.

Research Question 2 asked, "When intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact are controlled how does anxiety work to predict willingness to meet and social attractiveness for each condition?" Anxiety was a significant predictor of willingness to meet the described

Chinese student for three stereotype conditions: the control condition, the oblivious/annoying condition, and the nice/friendly conditions. Conversely, anxiety was a significant predictor of social attractiveness for all conditions except for the bad at English/not assimilated condition.

For the willingness to meet variable, it was interesting to see that anxiety is a significant predictor for only the control condition, where participants received no stereotype-related information, as well as the oblivious/annoying and nice/friendly conditions, which are two stereotypes not present in other Asian stereotype research. There have been no studies, for example, which have reported that the media portrays Asians as nice, friendly, polite and funny or as oblivious, annoying, loud, and intrusive (e.g., Lee & Joo, 2005; Park et. al, 2006; Suzuki, 2005). Studies asking participants to indicate stereotypes of Chinese specifically also have not found these two particular stereotype constructs (e.g., Madon et al., 2001).

Thus, one commonality that the control, oblivious/annoying, and nice/friendly conditions share is that they may be more uncertainty-producing than the stereotype constructs which are more consistent with what participants may have seen in media or learned about Chinese from other sources. Accordingly, these conditions may have elicited more uncertainty about what it would be like to interact with the described Chinese student than those that match the most common stereotypes for Chinese people (e.g., smart/hardworking, bad at English/not assimilated, and shy/quiet). As Anxiety/Uncertainty Management theory (Gudykunst, 1995) proposes, anxiety and uncertainty work together to predict communicative outcomes. According to the theory's assumptions, when one is more certain about a particular situation (such as when one relies on stereotypes to generate expectations), anxiety has a weaker influence on intercultural communication. In other words, uncertainty can work to moderate the relationship between anxiety and communication outcomes (Gudykunst & Nishida, 2001).

If the control condition is the most uncertainty-producing (because no information about the Chinese student's personality is given), we can see that it is quite possible that uncertainty (explained by the amount/type of information provided by the stereotype conditions) moderated the relationship between anxiety and willingness to meet a particular Chinese student. Results showed that, when compared to the control, the more typical (based on previous research) stereotype conditions (i.e., smart/hardworking, bad at English/not assimilated, and shy/quiet conditions) saw no influence of anxiety on willingness to meet the Chinese student. That is, those who received a typical stereotype description were equally likely to be willing to meet the Chinese student regardless of their anxiety level about meeting her. In comparison, those who received the nice/friendly or oblivious/annoying conditions (atypical stereotypes) were much more willing to meet the Chinese student if their anxiety level was low than if it was high (just as with the control condition). Samochowiec and Florak (2010) had similar results, but with anxiety as a moderator in the relationship between uncertainty and willingness to meet an international student. However, this relationship must be examined further as uncertainty was not directly measured and the shy/quiet condition was considered to be the least typical of Chinese international students.

For social attractiveness the only condition in which anxiety was not a significant predictor was the bad at English/not assimilated condition. For all other conditions (i.e., control, shy/quiet, smart/hardworking, nice/friendly, and oblivious/annoying), individuals with higher levels of anxiety rated the described Chinese student as less attractive (in terms of willingness to befriend her) than those with low levels of anxiety. It is unclear why the condition in which the Chinese student is described as less competent in English, unassimilated to US culture, and surrounded by other Chinese friends would differ from the others except that the condition was

specific in terms of the friends she already possessed. Anxiety may not make much difference if the participants receive information that describes the Chinese student's friends already because that information may reduce the uncertainty that they have about whether or not she would be a suitable friend for them. In this way, uncertainty may moderate anxiety in the same way as was seen with willingness to meet the Chinese student as a dependent variable.

Research question 3 asked, "When intercultural sensitivity and quantity of contact are controlled how do perceived necessary accommodations when interacting with the described Chinese student work to predict (a) willingness to meet and (b) social attractiveness for each condition?" Unexpectedly, accommodation did not predict willingness to interact with the described Chinese student for any of the conditions. Previous research has found that when interpretability and discourse management-type accommodations are necessary with strangers of another culture, individuals are less willing to engage in future communication with them (e.g., Chen, 2002; 2003; Manusov et al, 1997). However, this was not the case for this particular study. The amount of accommodations that participants saw as necessary during an interaction with a described Chinese student had no influence on their willingness to interact with her.

For social attractiveness, accommodation was a significant predictor for only one condition (i.e., shy/quiet). When participants received a description of a Chinese international student as being quiet, lacking friends, and feeling socially awkward, the degree of accommodations they felt necessary when interacting with her negatively influenced their perceptions of her social attractiveness. That is, the more they felt the need to accommodate to her, the less they felt like she could be a friend. This condition in particular noted that the described Chinese student had very few friends and was very shy. This may have lead participants to feel that a great deal of effort would be required to communicate with her. This

may have lead them to feel that more accommodations would be necessary with her and that those accommodations would interfere with their desire to build a relationship with her.

Strength of Current Study

This project adds to our understanding of stereotypes in two important ways. First, it highlights the complex nature of stereotype activation and the ways that individuals may refer to multiple stereotypes and other sources of information when considering whether or not and how to communicate with members of particular groups. Stereotypes themselves may have a large influence on intercultural communication, but many factors (such as previous contact with the stereotyped group and intercultural sensitivity) work to affect that influence.

Second, it further expands our understanding of American student perceptions of Chinese international students, a large and significant population on many US university campuses. With a clearer picture of both the positive and negative perceptions that American students may hold toward Chinese students, universities may be better equipped to develop programs and policies that encourage more interactions between American and Chinese students. Increased interactions between the two groups have potential benefits for both parties. For Chinese students, the stronger their relationships with host nationals (e.g., American students), the better their adaptation and cultural learning while in the US (Adelman, 1998; Albrecht & Adelman, 1984; Fontaine, 1986; Kim, 1987). For American students, interactions with international students such as those originating from China provide an excellent opportunity for gaining knowledge about other perspectives and ways of life and intercultural communication experience that could prove valuable in their futures.

This project also contributes to our understanding of Anxiety/Uncertainty Management Theory (Gudykunst, 1995) by providing additional evidence that anxiety and uncertainty may

work together to predict communicative outcomes such as willingness to interact with members of other cultures and perceptions of their social attractiveness. Gudykunst and Shapiro (1996) found that a lack of predictability leads to anxiety and a lack of trust. Samochewiec and Florack (2010) noted that increased anxiety leads to a stronger influence of uncertainty on willingness to interact with a described international student. In this study, it is possible that uncertainty brought about by either a lack of stereotypical cues (i.e., the control condition) or atypical stereotypes worked with anxiety to influence perceptions of intercultural communication. However, uncertainty was not directly measured in this study, so this relationship is somewhat of a conjecture at this point. This project should be replicated with a stronger focus on the amount of uncertainty participants feel when presented with stereotypical descriptions of a Chinese student. Educators may take away from the results of this study that uncertainty often works as a barrier to successful intercultural communication because it may go hand-in-hand with anxiety. Thus, if uncertainty can be reduced through education, students may be more likely to interact with members of other cultural groups.

This project advances the idea that intercultural sensitivity is a useful and informative concept when considering intercultural communication concepts. From the results of this study, we find that individuals higher in intercultural sensitivity are likely to be less influenced by stereotypes, more willing to engage in communication with a Chinese international student, and more likely to view a Chinese student as likable and someone they could become friends with. These results are promising, as intercultural sensitivity is something that can be developed with the right amount and types of intercultural experiences (Hammer et al., 2003; Anderson et al., 2006). Many universities provide opportunities for experiences (such as study abroad or interactions with international students) that can start the process of forming an interculturally

sensitive person. Studies such as this one provide support for additional support and effort to be devoted to this cause.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

This project contributes a great deal to our understanding of intercultural communication, specifically American student perceptions of communication with a particular international student group. It is not without limitations, however. First, the research was conducted at a single university in the Midwest region of the United States. Although there is a significant Chinese student population on campus, there are relatively few Chinese in the general population compared to other parts of the US. The findings may not generalize well to areas where there is a long history of interactions between Chinese and Americans or where interactions take place outside of an academic context. Additional studies in other contexts would provide a more complete picture of the stereotypes that Americans have about Chinese individuals and the influence that those stereotypes have on intercultural communication. Examinations of other cultural groups from this approach could also be fruitful in terms of better understanding the experience of minority cultural groups within the United States and beyond.

Second, there were issues with stereotype manipulation. In particular, it was unclear whether participants viewed Chinese students as distinct from other Asian groups. It is possible that they referred to stereotypes that they would apply to any person of Asian appearance rather than Chinese culture uniquely. In addition, there was a lack of definite manipulation effect at the first stages of analyses. When comparing stereotype conditions on the outcome variables, there were few differences among the conditions. However, with further analyses, it was clear that participants did refer to the stereotype description when answering questions about their anxiety, accommodations, willingness to interact, and perceptions of social attractiveness of a Chinese

student because there were meaningful differences among the conditions when these variables were considered in combination. The influence of stereotypes would become clearer if future studies are designed so that participants indicate the stereotypes that are activated in their minds about a particular cultural group after being presented with a description of a member of that cultural group. This extra step would provide information about whether or not participants think about more than one stereotype construct when presented with a description that fits one of their constructs.

Additionally, for all participants and conditions, the Chinese international student was described as female. Gender was kept consistent for all participants so as to limit the amount of variability among conditions and to keep the sample at a manageable size. During analyses, there were no significant differences found between men and women for the outcome variables. However, our knowledge of the role that stereotypes, intercultural sensitivity, and previous contact have on intercultural communication is limited to communication with a female Chinese student. Future research should include male Chinese students so that we might learn if perceptions are similar for both genders.

Intercultural sensitivity was a primary predictor of many of the outcome variables. At the same time, it is important to note that intercultural sensitivity is a measure of one's *perception* of his or her competence when communicating interculturally. The concept addresses perceptions of intercultural communication at cognitive, behavioral, and affective levels, but it is not meant to measure actual skill. An understanding of intercultural communication competence may be better developed through the measurement of *actual* communication behaviors in addition to cognitions and attitudes.

There were issues with connecting previous contact with the outcome variables. If the

quality of contact that participants had experienced with Chinese culture had been measured, we might have been able to draw better conclusions about the impact that contact has on variables such as anxiety and accommodation. Similarly, accommodation was measured by asking participants about their perceptions of accommodations that would be necessary during an interaction with a described Chinese student. In future research, it may be preferable for accommodation to be measured by looking at actual communication (when interacting with an actual Chinese student or coding responses to a hypothetical scenario) for evidence of the accommodation behaviors that actually take place. Additional variables might also be considered, including contact with other cultural groups other than Chinese as a way to understand how cultural experiences may be generalized across cultural groups or intergroup anxiety (general anxiety about interacting with a cultural group rather than anxiety about a particular interaction), which would provide further information about American perceptions of Chinese international students.

Finally, in future research, the relationship between anxiety and uncertainty should be examined in more specific detail. The results of this study imply that uncertainty may moderate the relationship between anxiety and outcome variables such as willingness to interact. However, uncertainty was not directly measured for this study and the results are unclear. Future research designs should have a way to test the level of uncertainty that participants feel when presented with different stereotypical descriptions of a particular cultural group. Such designs would likely provide even more support for the assumptions of Anxiety/Uncertainty Management theory (Guydkunst, 1995) and allow for more specific suggestions to educators about how to encourage more intercultural communication to take place on a university campus.

Conclusion

Research on stereotypes has a long and distinguished history. This project adds, in its own small way, to our knowledge about stereotypes that American students have about a particular group on their university campuses, that of Chinese international students. Specifically, this study found that many of the most common stereotypes of Asians (e.g., smart, hardworking, shy, quiet) were present in the minds of American participants. At the same time, additional traits emerged (e.g., friendly and nice). Surprisingly, there were relatively few differences in anxiety felt about interacting with, accommodations viewed as necessary during an interaction with, willingness to engage in an interaction with, and social attractiveness of a Chinese student described with traits ranging from very positive (e.g., nice/friendly) to very negative (e.g., oblivious/annoying). These findings may provide support for the Implicit Personality Theory (Schneider, 1973), which proposes that individuals often refer to complex constructs about others when presented with information that matches those constructs.

When one considers the amount of uncertainty that each stereotype condition might produce in combination with the anxiety participants felt about interacting with the described student, interesting patterns emerge. That is, it is possible that as uncertainty increases, anxiety has a greater influence on willingness to interact with and perceptions of the social attractiveness of the described student. When presented with a description that closely matches the traditional stereotypes that Americans have about Asians, anxiety no longer has an effect. Thus, the assumptions of Anxiety/Uncertainty Management Theory (Gudykunst, 1995) are supported and extended. Further research with greater emphasis on uncertainty is expected to provide stronger support for this claim.

Although perceived necessary accommodations (as informed by Giles' (1973) Communication Accommodation Theory) were expected to provide additional understanding

about how American students perceive and feel about communication with Chinese students, this project does not quite address the role that stereotypes play in this relationship. Further research, which includes analyses of actual communication, would provide a more complete understanding.

Finally, this study supports the concept of intercultural sensitivity as a good measure of an individual's perceptions of and willingness to engage in intercultural communication. Previous contact with Chinese culture may also be important, but the quality of the contact should also be measured so that this relationship is more apparent.

Intercultural communication, overall, has the potential to educate, frustrate, entertain, and discourage. It can be both challenging and rewarding. The best way to encourage positive intercultural communication is to foster increased intercultural communication competence, willingness to interact with those we see to be different from us, to see similarities among all humans, and to celebrate the differences that do exist. In this way, the world may become a more cooperative and peaceful place. One of the best places to start cultivating just such a worldview is with young adults in the university setting, where they might be most open to broadening their perspectives and able to experience intercultural communication on a regular basis, simply by initiating a conversation with an international student.

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Appendix A

Survey for Study 1

As part of my dissertation, I am examining the perceptions that American students have toward Chinese students. Please do not write your name anywhere on this document. You are not required to complete this survey. If you choose not to participate, you may return this form blank to me. Thank you for your help!

Think about how you would describe the typical Chinese international student.

Please list, using short phrases or single words, all of the characteristics that you associate with Chinese students, both positive and negative. There is no limit the number of characteristics you may list.

You do not necessarily need to personally accept these characteristics as true for all Chinese students. Instead, indicate what characteristics you believe American students tend to assume are true for most Chinese students.

Write a list of the characteristics of a typical Chinese student in the space provided:

[illegible]

Appendix B

Survey for Study 2

For the following 0-100% scale, indicate the **percentage of Chinese international students** you believe possess the following characteristics by moving the slider until it reaches the appropriate percentage.

Please do your best to give your honest and initial reaction to each choice. You may choose to leave blank any words you do not understand or find confusing.

_____ % of Chinese international students are:

	0%	50%	100%
Smart			
Quiet			
Good at Math and Science			
Shy			
Studious			
Bad at English			
Friendly			
Nice			
Intelligent			
Always with other Chinese			
Hardworking			

Polite	
Loud	
Socially Awkward	
Fashionable	
Only friends w/ Other Chinese	
Loner	
Funny	
Intrusive on Personal Space	
Strange	
Cliquey/ Exclusive	
Never Speaks English	
Not Assimilated to US Culture	
Kind	
Efficient	
Different	
Oblivious	

Annoying	<div><div></div></div>
Conceited	<div><div></div></div>
Not Social	<div><div></div></div>
Rude	<div><div></div></div>

DIRECTIONS: For the same list of characteristics, indicate how **favorable** (in general) you consider these characteristics to be by circling the corresponding number: (1 = Very unfavorable, 4= Neutral, 7= Very Favorable)

	Very Unfavorable			Neutral			Very Favorable
Smart	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Quiet	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Good at Math and Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Shy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Studious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Bad at English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nice	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Always with other Chinese	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hardworking	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Polite	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Loud	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Socially Awkward	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Fashionable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Only friends w/ Other Chinese	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Loner	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Funny	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Intrusive on Personal Space	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strange	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Cliquey/ Exclusive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Never Speaks English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not Assimilated to US Culture	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kind	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Efficient	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Different	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Oblivious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Annoying	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Conceited	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not Social	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Rude	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix C

Final Survey Items/Materials

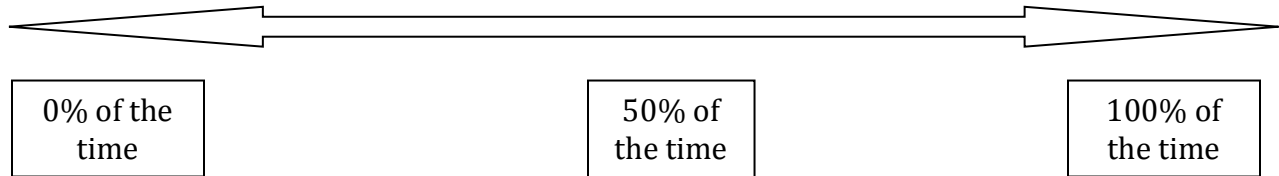
Demographic Items

DIRECTIONS: Please write in your responses to the following demographic items:

1. Are you a U.S. citizen? ____ Yes ____ No
2. If you answered no, what is your nationality? _____
3. Race/Ethnicity: _____
4. Sex
 - ☐ 1. Female
 - ☐ 2. Male
5. Age
____ years old (2 digits, e.g., 21)
5. What is your year in school?
 - ☐ 1. Freshman
 - ☐ 2. Sophomore
 - ☐ 3. Junior
 - ☐ 4. Senior
 - ☐ 5. Graduate Student

Measure of Intercultural Willingness to Communicate

DIRECTIONS: Below are twelve situations in which a person might choose to communicate or not communicate. Presume you have *completely free choice*. Indicate the percentage of times you would choose to communicate in each type of situation. Keep in mind you are not reporting the likelihood that you would have an opportunity to talk in these instances, but rather the percentage of times you would talk when the opportunity presented itself. Use the slider to indicate the percentage of time from 0 (I would never communicate in this situation) to 100 (I would always communicate in this situation).



- 1*. Talk with a close friend.
- 2*. Talk with a spouse or significant other (girlfriend, boyfriend).
3. Talk with someone I perceive to be different from me.
4. Talk with someone from another country.
- 5*. Talk with a physician.
6. Talk with someone from a culture I know very little about.
- 7*. Talk with a salesperson in a store.
8. Talk with someone of a different race than mine.
- 9*. Talk with a relative or family member.
10. Talk with someone from another culture.
- 11*. Talk with someone at work.
12. Talk with someone that speaks my native language as his/her second language.

(Items marked with * are filler items, and not to be used in data analysis).

Measure of Quantity of Contact with Chinese Culture

DIRECTIONS: For the following statements, consider the contact you've had with Chinese culture. Indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each statement by *clicking* the corresponding box.

Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Moderately Disagree 3	Neutral 4	Moderately Agree 5	Agree 6	Strongly Agree 7
------------------------------------	-----------------------	--------------------------------------	----------------------	-----------------------------------	--------------------	---------------------------------

1. I have visited China or another East Asian culture.
2. I have lived in China or another East Asian culture.
3. I have been in classes or have worked with people from China or other East Asian countries.
- *4. I've never really talked with someone who speaks Chinese as a first language.
5. My friends are all from similar ethnic and cultural backgrounds.
6. I speak to people from China on a regular basis.
7. I have close friends who are from China or of another East Asian descent.
8. I have at least one acquaintance who is of Chinese descent.
9. I often interact with people from China or other East Asian nations during my everyday activities, such as running errands.
10. I have taken classes where I learned about Chinese culture or other East Asian cultures.

(Items marked with * were reverse-coded prior to data analysis).

Measure of Intercultural Sensitivity

DIRECTIONS: Below is a series of statements concerning intercultural communication. There are no right or wrong answers. Please work quickly and record your first impression by indicating the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statement. (1 = strongly disagree, 4 = undecided or neutral, 7 = strongly agree.)

Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Moderately Disagree 3	Neutral 4	Moderately Agree 5	Agree 6	Strongly Agree 7
------------------------------------	-----------------------	--------------------------------------	----------------------	-----------------------------------	--------------------	---------------------------------

1. I enjoy interacting with people from different cultures.
- *2. I think people from other cultures are narrow-minded
3. I am pretty sure of myself in interacting with people from different cultures.
- *4. I find it very hard to talk in front of people from different cultures.
5. I always know what to say when interacting with people from different cultures.
6. I can be as sociable as I want to be when interacting with people from different cultures.
- *7. I don't like to be with people from different cultures.
8. I respect the values of people from different cultures.
- *9. I get upset easily when interacting with people from different cultures.
10. I feel confident when interacting with people from different cultures.
11. I tend to wait before forming an impression of culturally-distinct counterparts.
- *12. I often get discouraged when I am with people from different cultures
13. I am open-minded to people from different cultures.
14. I am very observant when interacting with people from different cultures.
- *15. I often feel useless when interacting with people from different cultures
16. I respect the ways people from different cultures behave.

17. I try to obtain as much information as I can when interacting with people from different cultures.

*18. I would not accept the opinions of people from different cultures.

19. I am sensitive to my culturally-distinct counterpart's subtle meanings during our interaction

*20. I think my culture is better than other cultures.

21. I often give positive responses to my culturally different counterpart during our interaction.

22. I avoid those situations where I will have to deal with culturally-distinct persons.

23. I often show my culturally-distinct counterpart my understanding through verbal or nonverbal cues.

24. I have feelings of enjoyment towards differences between my culturally-distinct counterpart and me.

*Starred items were reverse-coded before summing the 24 items. Interaction Engagement items are 1, 11, 13, 21, 22, 23, and 24. Respect for cultural differences items are 2, 7, 8, 16, 18, and 20. Interaction confidence items are 3, 4, 5, 6, and 10. Interaction enjoyment items are 9, 12, and 15. Interaction attentiveness items are 14, 17, and 19.

Letter to Participants from Researchers

Dear Participant,

In order to facilitate a better environment for Chinese international students on campus, we are exploring ways to potentially match Chinese students with American students who can serve as mentors to them during their time in the United States. As part of the development of this program, we have asked you here to provide some feedback regarding this program.

Please carefully read the following information sheet about a Chinese student. Next, you will be asked to write to this student introducing yourself and providing some suggestions for what she should do to get the most out of her experience here at KU. Finally, you will be asked to answer some brief survey questions about your feelings about the program and your willingness to participate in the program in the future.

Thank you very much for your time!

Participants were presented at random with one of the following conditions

Condition: Shy/Quiet

Name: Xiaoli

About this student: Xiaoli is very shy and quiet. She doesn't have many friends here and often feels awkward when she meets new people. She's not very social and tends to be a loner.

Hometown: Beijing, China

Age: 19

Major: Undecided

Length of time in the U.S.: About 1 year.

Plans to stay in the U.S.: A total of four years.

Condition: Oblivious/Annoying

Name: Xiaoli

About this student: Xiaoli comes off as conceited and annoying at times. She and her friends are loud and rarely speak English. She's often oblivious to what's going on around her.

Hometown: Beijing, China

Age: 19

Major: Undecided

Length of time in the U.S.: About 1 year.

Plans to stay in the U.S.: A total of four years.

Condition: Nice/Friendly

Name: Xiaoli

About this student: Xiaoli is very friendly and nice. She's funny and enjoyable to be with. She is generally very polite and kind when talking to others.

Hometown: Beijing, China

Age: 19

Major: Undecided

Length of time in the U.S.: About 1 year.

Plans to stay in the U.S.: A total of four years.

Condition: Smart/Hardworking,

Name: Xiaoli

About this student: Xiaoli excels in her classes. She's smart and is especially good at math and science. She spends much of her time studying and is very hardworking.

Hometown: Beijing, China

Age: 19

Major: Undecided

Length of time in the U.S.: About 1 year.

Plans to stay in the U.S.: A total of four years.

Condition: Bad at English/Not Assimilated

Name: Xiaoli

About this student: Xiaoli has trouble speaking English well. All of her friends here are other Chinese students. She is not well assimilated to American culture.

Hometown: Beijing, China

Age: 19

Major: Undecided

Length of time in the U.S.: About 1 year.

Plans to stay in the U.S.: A total of four years.

Condition: Control

Name: Xiaoli

Hometown: Beijing, China

Age: 19

Major: Undecided

Length of time in the U.S.: About 1 year.

Plans to stay in the U.S.: A total of four years.

Reading Check

1. Did you read the above information carefully? ____ Yes ____ No
2. Please describe Xiaoli in a few sentences.

Message to International Student from Participants

DIRECTIONS: In the following spaces, please write a message for Xiaoli. Specifically, your message should address the following:

1. Introduce yourself.
2. Give her some suggestions for what she can do to get more experience with American culture.
3. Talk about what you might do together if you are paired together for the program.

Measure of Willingness to Interact

Please indicate your agreement with the following statements. (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree).

Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Moderately Disagree 3	Neutral 4	Moderately Agree 5	Agree 6	Strongly Agree 7
------------------------------------	-----------------------	--------------------------------------	----------------------	-----------------------------------	--------------------	---------------------------------

1. I would like to participate in a program to help Chinese students adapt to university life.
2. I would be willing to meet Xiaoli (the student you just read about).
3. I would like to speak to Xiaoli face-to-face.
4. *I would be hesitant to meet with Xiaoli.

Measure of Typicality

From what you know about Chinese students, would you say that Xiaoli is: (1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree).

Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Moderately Disagree 3	Neutral 4	Moderately Agree 5	Agree 6	Strongly Agree 7
------------------------------------	-----------------------	--------------------------------------	----------------------	-----------------------------------	--------------------	---------------------------------

1. Similar to other Chinese students?
2. A typical Chinese student?
3. **Different from other Chinese students?*

(Items marked with * were reverse-coded prior to data analysis. Italicized items were removed before analyses due to concerns about reliability.)

Measure of Communication Anxiety

DIRECTIONS: If you were asked to meet face-to-face with this student (Xiaoli) for a 30-minute conversation over coffee, how would you feel? (1 = Not at all and 7 =Very much so)

Not at all 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Very much so 7
-----------------------------	----------	----------	----------------------	----------	----------	-------------------------------

1. I would probably feel tense and nervous
- *2. I would self-confident while talking
3. While talking, I would be afraid of making an embarrassing or silly slip of the tongue
4. I would be worried about what she thought of me.
- *5. I would probably feel calm when I was talking
6. I might feel ill at ease using gestures when I spoke
7. I would probably have trouble thinking clearly when I spoke.
- *8. I think she would seem interested in what I had to say
- *9. I would feel poised and in control while I was talking
10. My body might feel tense and stiff while I was talking
11. My words will become confused and jumbled when I am speaking
- *12. I would feel relaxed when I was talking
13. My fingers and hands might tremble when I was speaking
14. I would feel I had nothing worthwhile to say
15. I would probably have a “deadpan” expression on my face when I spoke
16. I might myself talking faster or slower than usual
- *17. While speaking, it would be pretty easy for me to find the right words to express myself
18. I might awkward when I was talking
19. My heart seemed might beat faster than usual
- *20. I would be able to maintain eye contact when I wanted to

(Items marked with * were reverse-coded prior to data analysis).

Perceived Necessary Accommodations

DIRECTIONS: Imagine how communication would occur during a face-to-face meeting with this student (Xiaoli). Please report your level of agreement with the following statements.

Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Moderately Disagree 3	Neutral 4	Moderately Agree 5	Agree 6	Strongly Agree 7
------------------------------------	-----------------------	--------------------------------------	----------------------	-----------------------------------	--------------------	---------------------------------

1. I would speak slower than I normally would.
2. I would probably need to simplify my vocabulary.
3. I would be sure to pause and give her time to process what I am saying.
4. I would try to talk about things that I think she would be interested in.
5. I would repeat myself often to be sure she understands me.
6. Communicating with her would take more work than communicating with another American.
- *7. I would talk to her as I would anybody else.*
8. I would pay attention to how she was communicating with me and try to match that style.
- *9. I probably wouldn't change much about my communication.*
10. I would adjust my communication based on her ability to speak English.
- 11. I would become frustrated by the language barrier.*
- 12. I would expect the conversation to be enjoyable.*

(Items marked with * were reverse-coded prior to data analysis. Italicized items were removed before analyses due to concerns about reliability.)

Social Attractiveness

DIRECTIONS: Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements as they apply to Xiaoli. For each of the following statements, select the option that indicates your level of agreement with that statement.

Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Moderately Disagree 3	Neutral 4	Moderately Agree 5	Agree 6	Strongly Agree 7
------------------------------------	-----------------------	--------------------------------------	----------------------	-----------------------------------	--------------------	---------------------------------

1. I think she could be a friend of mine
- *2. It would be difficult to meet and talk with her.
- *3. She just wouldn't fit into my circle of friends.
- *4. We could never establish a personal friendship with each other.
5. I would like to have a friendly chat with her.

(Items marked with * were reverse-coded prior to data analysis).

Final Page of Survey

Thank you for your participation!

Please read this page carefully before submitting your responses:

You have completed the requirements for this project.

There are currently many ways for you to become involved in welcoming international students to campus and learning about other cultures, if you are interested.

Here are a few student groups (among many!) on the University of Kansas campus you may wish to explore:

Chinese Students & Scholars Friendship Association (CSSFA):
people.ku.edu/~fhkeku/CSSFA/home.html

International Student Association: groups.ku.edu/~isa

International Friends: groups.ku.edu/~ifriends

Please print this page BEFORE CLICKING THE NEXT BUTTON as confirmation of your participation in this research. (This is not required, but recommended to ensure you receive credit for your participation.)

Be sure to click "NEXT" to submit your answers. You will see a confirmation page to ensure that we have received your responses.

You may contact the primary researcher with any questions/concerns you may have:

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